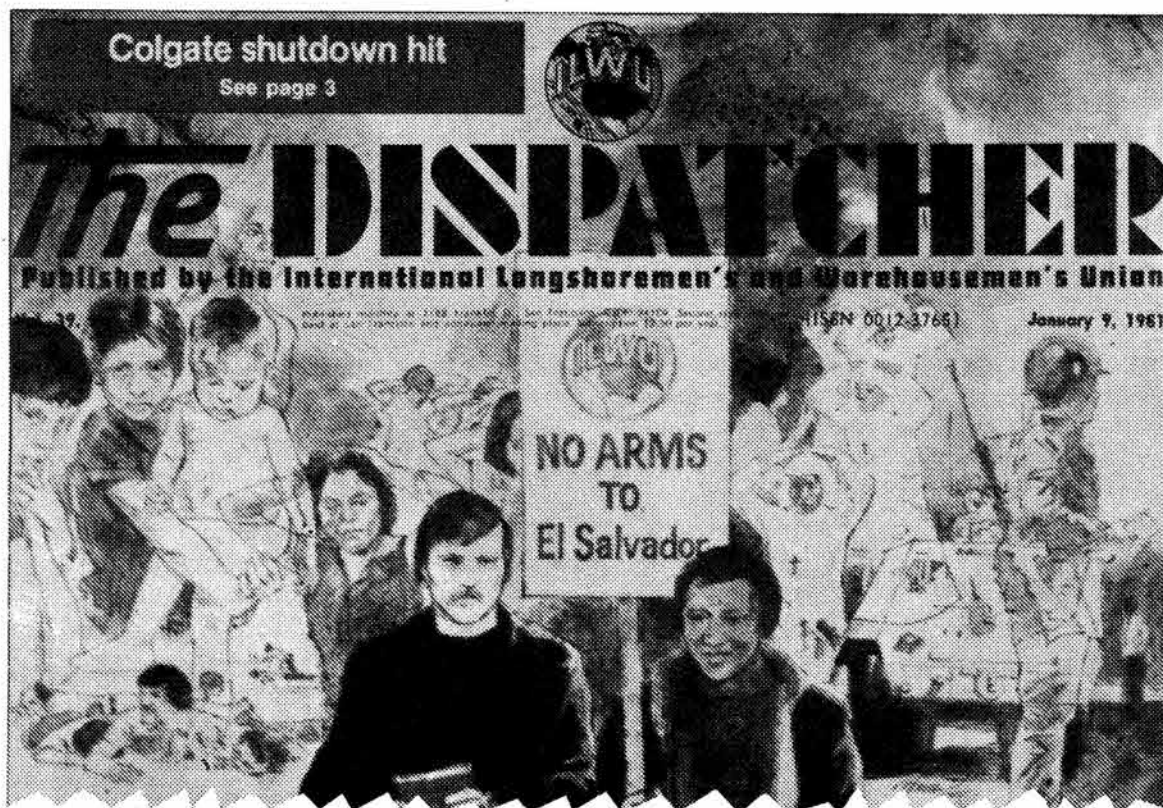


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Union leaders back antidraft fight

Demand no U.S. aid to Salvadoran junta



Front page of January 9 'Dispatcher,' West Coast longshore union paper

National antidraft conference in Detroit February 13-15 has won endorsement of Machinists President William Winpisinger, Auto Workers Vice-president Martin Gerber, Detroit AFL-CIO head Tom Turner, others. See page 6.

Labor opposition is also growing to U.S. role in El Salvador. West Coast dockworkers are boycotting arms shipments and union officials are speaking out in Chicago, Kansas City, and elsewhere. See page 20.

What's happening in El Salvador? What is effect of increased U.S. arms? Where does revolutionary offensive stand? See page 7.

**Chrysler
wage cuts:
threat to
all
workers**

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**Fired
Lockheed
workers
winning
support
from
unionists**

—PAGES 3-5

Defend bilingual education!

On February 2 Reagan's Education Secretary, Terrel Bell, revoked regulations proposed by the previous administration that would have required bilingual programs in school districts with twenty-five or more non-English speaking students.

Bell called the regulations "harsh, inflexible, burdensome, unworkable and incredibly costly."

He estimated that over a five year period the regulations would cost \$1 billion—about half as much as one Trident submarine.

Just a week earlier the Supreme Court ruled that employers can legally fire workers for speaking Spanish on the job.

These attacks on Spanish language rights have provoked an outcry by Chicano and Puerto Rican leaders and sections of the labor movement.

They have correctly labeled Reagan's move on bilingual education as a racist attack on the right of Hispanic children to an equal education, supposedly guaranteed by the 1974 Supreme Court decision *Lau v. Nichols*.

As Representative Robert García of New York put it, "This is a signal to the rest of the country . . . that school districts can say 'the hell with it, why should we bother.' It will be back to business as usual—which in many states is back to bigotry."

The media have attempted to soften the blow by obscuring the real intent of the Reagan administration.

A February 4 *New York Times* editorial suggested that what has been affected is only the additional regulations put forth by the Carter administration. "Politics aside, it makes sense to let the local districts work out which strategies are best suited to deal with their children's language problems."

This is the same "states' rights" argument that racist politicians and groups like the Ku Klux Klan use as justification for attacking federally mandated school desegregation.

Others in the media push the line that no current bilingual programs will be affected.

What is the real content of this move?

It is estimated that there are 3.5 million non-English speaking children in this country. Seventy percent of these are Hispanic.

Currently 500 school districts in the United States have set up, or made commitments to set up, some form of bilingual education to provide services for these children.

"I don't think we could change the regulations and rigidly bind those 500 school districts [to their promises]," Bell said.

Bell asserted that until he and his staff "rewrite" the bilingual education regulations, his department would follow guidelines issued in 1975 which call for bilingual education "in some instances" but do not have the force of law. In addition he promised to "look again" at the Bilingual Education Act, which provides the funds for the programs.

Dr. Sharon Robinson, speaking for the 1.8 million member National Education Association, hit the nail right on the head when she stated, "The federal government, in scrapping the rules, is backing off from its responsibility to provide educational equity for children and youth with limited or no English language skills."

Children suffer while politicians debate "states' rights."

Rubén Bonilla, president of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), portrayed the decision as "one more example of the Reagan Administration trying to dismember the Hispanic community."

Like ending "Jim Crow" segregation and instituting open admissions, bilingual/bicultural programs were a gain that benefited all working people.

The attack on bilingual education is part of the rulers' offensive against the right of all working people to provide their children with a decent education.

These attacks attempt to relegate an important section of the workforce to permanently undereducated, underskilled, and underpaid status, to be used to drive the standard of living of all workers downward.

Labor has a vital interest in opposing such "divide and rule" tactics of the employers. More unions should follow the lead of the NEA and mobilize in defense of Hispanic workers.

Rally for Grenada

March 13 marks the second anniversary of the Grenadian revolution. With the victory over dictator Eric Gairy, the Grenadian people, led by the New Jewel Movement, emerged as the first free Black nation of the Caribbean.

The victory of the revolution, and the gains it is bringing to the people of Grenada, are cause for celebration.

March 13 is also a good occasion to expand solidarity with Grenada.

Predictably, Washington greeted the Grenadian revolution with hostility from the outset.

The U.S. government is seeking to line up Grenada's island neighbors against the revolution. Aid needed by Grenada is being obstructed. And there has been an assassination attempt against Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

Second anniversary solidarity events have been slated by the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society, and others (see page 19). These should be supported and emulated across the country.

Working people, and the Black community in particular, will appreciate learning about the gains of the revolution and Washington's threats against it.

Our new price

Readers will note from the front cover that we have been forced to raise our price to seventy-five cents per issue.

The reason will come as no surprise. Inflation over the past six months has driven our prices up dramatically. Air travel, for example, has gone up 50 percent. Paper and postage have also climbed steeply.

The increase in price will still not cover the cost of producing the *Militant*.

We are budgeting our resources carefully in order to ensure that we have the best coverage we can of the major events in the class struggle.

We will continue to offer eyewitness accounts of the major events in Central America.

We are expanding our coverage of the issues in the historic Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying.

This spring we plan a circulation drive that will introduce the *Militant* to thousands of new readers. During the drive the introductory subscription price will remain two dollars for eight weeks.

Those wishing to contribute to this expanded effort to get out socialist ideas during the course of the upcoming lawsuit should send a contribution to the Socialist Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Karolyn Kerry

As we go to press, we have just learned of the death in San Diego of Karolyn Kerry, a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party for more than forty-five years. Future issues will report the time and place of memorial meetings and will carry an appreciation of her life and her contributions to building the revolutionary movement.

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If You Like This Paper . . .

'Put antinuclear movement back on the offensive'

Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, explains the significance of March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg. Demanding no more Three Mile Islands, jobs for all, and backing the United Mine Workers contract fight, March 28 can be a powerful answer to Reagan's antilabor attacks. **Pages 10-11.**



The Militant

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Hoepfner gains union support, finds more Lockheed dirty tricks in Calif.

By Joette Baity
and Rebecca Finch

LOS ANGELES—Union officials, workers at Lockheed's Burbank, California, plant, and others here have joined Chris Hoepfner to demand that Lockheed rehire him and fourteen other workers fired from its Marietta, Georgia, plant.

All fifteen are members of the International Association of Machinists Lodge 709. Fourteen are also members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Hoepfner was in Los Angeles the last week in January to win support for the fired workers.

"Sworn testimony by a Lockheed security cop and internal company documents that we have obtained show that we were singled out for our political ideas and activities," said Hoepfner at a meeting sponsored by the Militant Forum.

Hoepfner is a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

These firings are not simply an attack on socialists, he said. "They are an attack on the whole union movement."

Union bugged

Members of IAM District Lodge 727 at Lockheed in Burbank are all too familiar with the company's dirty tricks against the union.

In a January 23 meeting with Hoepfner, Richard Celebron, president of District Lodge 727, related how Lockheed had tried to disrupt the union during the 1977 contract negotiations.

When information about the negotiations began to leak from his office, Celebron became suspicious that his phone was bugged. This was confirmed in July of 1979 when a Lockheed employee informed him that after talking with a union business agent on the phone, she heard a recording of the conversation she had just completed.

Celebron called in private investigators to check for wiretap equipment. They found a miniaturized radio transmitter in the mouthpiece of his phone.

Celebron then called in the Burbank Police Department. They promptly removed the device and pocketed it.

More than two years later, the police are still refusing to return the bug. They say they must keep it in case the person who planted it confesses. There's only one catch—the police closed the case without finding the eavesdropper.

Celebron also contacted the FBI to ask them to investigate the case. He was less than satisfied with their response.

"They said that unless I could support with documents how I was injured, they couldn't do anything. But if I could do that," he said, "I'd know who the culprit was."

Break-in

In October 1977 a custodian walked in on three burglars who were going

through the files in Celebron's office. It took the Burbank Police Department ten hours to respond to the call. In the three years since the break-in they still haven't come up with a clue as to who did it.

Such dirty tricks are not surprising. The head of security at Lockheed-Burbank, like the security chief at the company's plant in Georgia, is an ex-FBI agent.

The tapping of Celebron's phone was widely covered in the press when it happened. So it is no wonder the workers in the plant were incensed when they heard about what had happened to the fifteen Lockheed workers in Marietta.

They like the fact that Hoepfner and the others are fighting back.

"Lockheed really stuck its neck out this time—and I hope it gets chopped off," said one shop steward.

Supporters of the fifteen fired Georgia workers circulated a petition inside the plant during Hoepfner's visit here. It calls on Lockheed to rehire them and strongly protests "the use of electronic surveillance, tailing, and undercover company agents to spy on these union brothers' and sisters' political and union activities and their personal lives."

One senior shop steward offered to

post the materials and the petition on the bulletin board. Another took the petition and circulated it in his own department.

A young worker who is also in the military reserve signed, saying, "I think they should get their jobs back!"

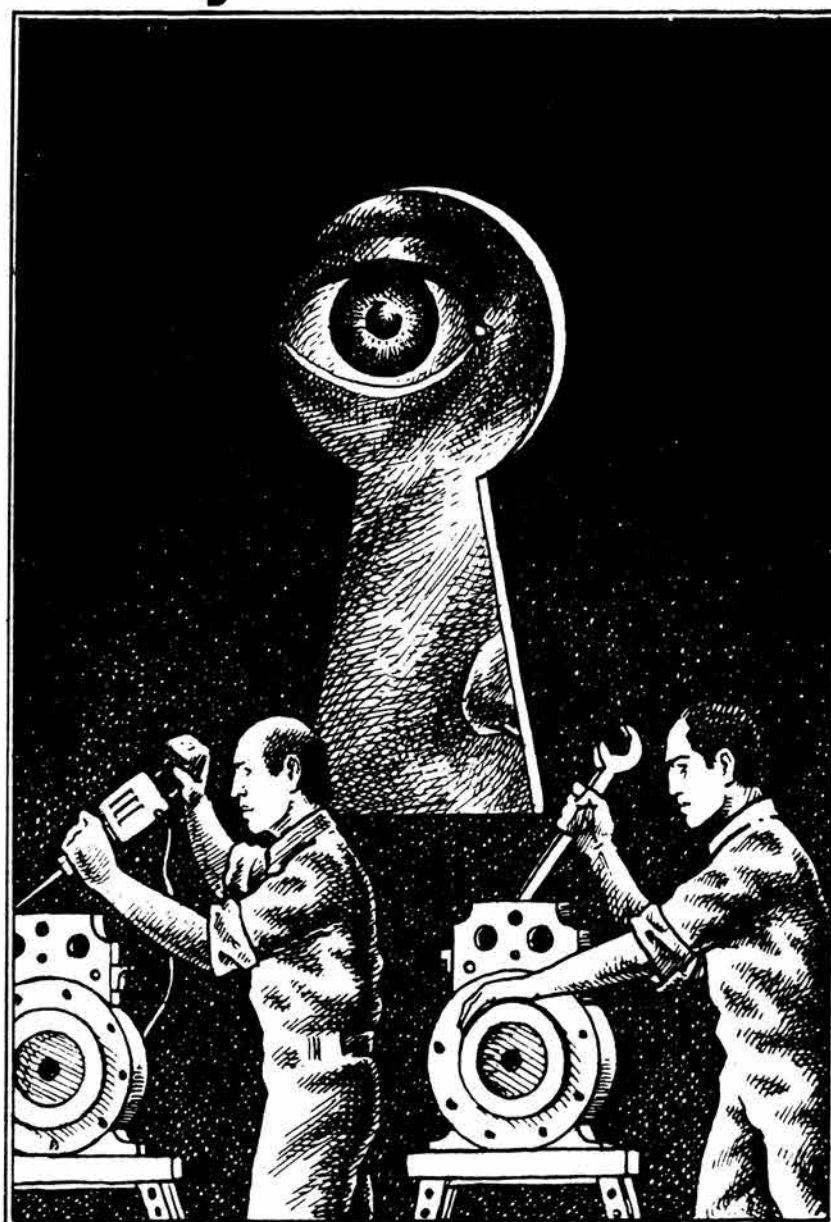
Another worker said, "It just might be me next time."

Sara Matthews, a Lockheed employee who is circulating the petition, said, "A lot of workers signed because of Lockheed-Burbank's dirty tricks against the union here. Some wanted to know more about the SWP and YSA lawsuit against the government and about the ideas that the fired socialists stood for. Some workers signed that I had expected to be unsympathetic."

Others in the Los Angeles area labor movement have expressed their outrage at the firings.

Hoepfner talked about the case with Al Belmontez, president, and Collin Lai, secretary-treasurer, of United Auto Workers Local 216; and Thomas Collins, president of United Steelworkers Local 6700.

Hoepfner also met with a member of the Central Committee of the Casa Nicaragua; with Linda Valentino, coordinator of the Citizens Commission on Police Repression; and with Rose Chernin of the Los Angeles Committee in Defense of the Bill of Rights.



New support for socialist lawsuit

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment is set to go to trial March 16. The following are recent messages of support to the suit.



Michael and Robert Meeropol

We believe the trial of the SWP's historic suit comes at a most opportune time. The rising right-wing tide is attempting to re-install patterns of repression and disruption of the left that had been de-legitimized as a result of the Watergate revelations.

Too many of our fellow citizens are being taken in by the right's rhetoric. The facts revealed at this trial must be widely disseminated to prove to our fellow citizens that such repression and disruption has nothing to do with protecting the citizenry from crime and terror. Instead it has *everything* to do with destroying people's ability to act politically to take control of their lives.



Ossie Davis Actor

This case may well provide a landmark. At issue are our fundamental rights as citizens to engage in politics; to act and to speak freely whether our opinions are popular or not, without interference or oversight by our government. Are we free citizens of our country or are we not? This trial will have much to tell us in that connection one way or another. I fully and enthusiastically support the Political Rights Defense Fund in this most serious endeavor.

Studs Terkel Author of 'Working'

Once more unto the breach, dear friends . . . to face down the faceless, the most dangerous foe of the Bill of Rights. This may be the big one.

David McReynolds 1980 Socialist Party presidential candidate

Nothing less than the Bill of Rights is at stake. The fight for democracy has never been easy, it has never been complete. This suit is part of a necessary and continuing struggle for the political rights of every American.

Read the ideas they're out to suppress

In a courtroom in New York City one of the most important trials of the 1980s will open on March 16. To be fought out will be the right of American workers to hold socialist ideas and to put those ideas into practice.

Unfortunately, they're not going to let you watch it on live television. But you can read about it in the *Militant*. Subscribe now.

- ☐ \$2 for eight issues (new readers only)
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'Lockheed doesn't like workers who speak up'

By Vivian Sahner

NEWARK, N.J.—André Kahlmorgan says she is finding that unionists, including top officials, agree that Lockheed's attack on her is a threat to the whole union movement.

One of fifteen workers fired from Lockheed-Georgia Company during the last few weeks, Kahlmorgan spoke here on January 25.

Lockheed spied on union meetings, tailed workers home, and conspired with the FBI in order to finger members of the Socialist Workers Party and other union activists.

Chris Hoepfner, another of those fired, and Kahlmorgan are on a national tour to protest this attack on labor and to ask supporters to help them win back their jobs. All of those fired at the Lockheed plant in Marietta, Georgia, are members of the International Association of Machinists Lodge 709.

Lockheed workers on tour

Two of the fifteen fired Lockheed workers are currently on national tour speaking about the facts in their case. If you want to set up a meeting for them or find out details on the tour in your area, consult the local listings on page 27.

Chris Hoepfner

Feb. 6-9 San Diego
Feb. 11-15 Seattle
Feb. 15-17 Portland
Feb. 18-20 Vancouver
Feb. 21-24 Denver
Feb. 25-27 Washington, D.C.

André Kahlmorgan

Feb. 6-8 Dallas
Feb. 11-17 Chicago, Gary
More cities to be announced

Kahlmorgan told the audience that lawyers for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government harassment obtained company records which document the blacklisting effort against the socialists.

"What we found out confirmed our worst suspicions," she said. "You see, when they spot an uppity worker these days, they can't just fire him or her outright. They have to find a 'good' reason. And that's what big security departments, spy networks, and electronic listening devices are for."

"They try to find 'good' reasons like drug use, or drinking. They told me there were errors on my job application."

Kahlmorgan told about a speed-up in her area of the plant. She, her union shop steward, and several other workers tried to resist.

"Naturally, management was quite perturbed. Lockheed doesn't like workers who speak up about things like this."

"It's not just the companies that want docile unions, however," Kahlmorgan added. "The U.S. government would also like to see workers kept quiet."

"The Reagan administration, like Carter's, needs to strengthen the FBI and other government cop agencies because they know their policies—like the draft, attacks on desegregation, and cutbacks in social services—are very unpopular."

"Do you have to be in political agreement with Lockheed to be able to earn a living?" Kahlmorgan asked.

"This is intolerable. That's why we want the labor movement across this country to know about it. We cannot let Lockheed's example of thought control go unchallenged."

After the meeting Kahlmorgan told the *Militant* about discussions she has had with union leaders during her tour.

"I attended the January 17-18 meet-

ing in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where the United Mine Workers and the International Association of Machinists joined with local antinuclear activists to co-sponsor a March 28 national demonstration against nuclear power.

"Members from thirty-five unions came to the meeting. When I spoke to them about what Lockheed had done they were outraged," she said.

"Jane Perkins, secretary-treasurer of Pennsylvania Social Services Union Local 668 and trustee of the Harrisburg Central Labor Council, told me she thought Lockheed's action represented an attack on any union member who's against nuclear power."

"Joe Jurczak, a coordinator of the Pennsylvania UMW Political Action Committee (COMPAC) was so mad he

told me he was going to write a letter to President Reagan."

"When I was in Pittsburgh," Kahlmorgan continued, "I spoke with Russell Gibbons at the United Steelworkers international headquarters. He is editor of *Steeltor* and USWA Director of Public Relations."

"Jonathan Comer, USWA assistant civil rights director, told me he thought what happened to us was an attack on the whole union movement."

"Pointing out the role that unions play in bettering the lives of Blacks in this country, Comer said to me, 'It's no coincidence that Martin Luther King was killed while he was building support for Black unionists. It's not just Blacks that they are attacking these days, it's everybody.'"

K.C. rally backs suit

By Jim Mack

KANSAS CITY—A round of nationwide rallies in support of the socialist suit got under way with a gathering here February 1.

The rally voted to send the following message to Lockheed: "We are outraged at the dismissal of fourteen union activists in Georgia."

"We pledge to join in the effort for their immediate reinstatement."

The rally raised more than \$800. Featured speaker was Larry Seigle, Socialist Workers Party Political Committee member.

The rally got messages of support from Kansas City Urban National Organization for Women; Muriel Paul, member of a December 1979 delegation to Iran; and Ed Haase, business manager, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1259.

In her message Paul said, "Your legal battle against the FBI, waged almost single-handedly, is nevertheless

being loudly applauded by all citizens who are concerned regarding the continuing threat to civil liberties posed by those who wish to resurrect the climate of the Smith Act and wage a war of oppression on those who resist thought control."

The NOW statement said: "It is the position of the Kansas City Urban chapter of the National Organization for Women that every individual and organization has the right to privacy and commitment to their own ideals and beliefs—including political affiliation."

The message from Haase said that "this historic case . . . will lead the way for all of us who are struggling for a more just and humane society."

Also speaking at the rally were Dennis Goodden, a local attorney; Eva Pilz, Young Socialist Alliance member and foreign exchange student from Austria; and Peggy Frantz, a member of the Greater Kansas City Committee to Oppose the Draft.

New York City

Rally to support Socialist suit vs. Government attacks on working people's rights

Speaking on the ideas the FBI is trying to suppress:



JACK BARNES,
national secretary,
Socialist Workers Party

Also speaking:



LUCIUS WALKER,
National Anti-Klan
Network

CONSTANCE GILBERT NEISS, Assistant Coordinator for Action, N.O.W.-N.J.; and PHIL WHEATON, Director, Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA), and member, East Coast Administrative Committee for the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)

Saturday, February 7, 7:30 pm / Ethical Culture Society
2 West 64th Street (off Central Park West), New York, N.Y.

For information and transportation, call:

Baltimore, Md. (301) 235-0013 Boston, Mass. (617) 262-4621 Brooklyn, NY (212) 852-7922 Manhattan, NY (212) 260-6400 Newark, NJ (201) 643-3341 Philadelphia, Pa. (215) 927-4747 Schenectady, NY (518) 374-1494 Washington, DC (202) 797-7699

Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, 108 E. 16th Street, 2nd floor, New York, N.Y. 10003

Rallies in other cities:

Albuquerque	February 28
Atlanta	February 28
Chicago	February 15
Cincinnati	March 7
Cleveland	February 28
Denver	February 28
Detroit	March 1
Houston	February 28
Indianapolis	March 1
Iron Range	March 13
Kansas City	February 1
Los Angeles	March 7
Louisville	March 8
Milwaukee	March 14
Morgantown	February 28
Phoenix	March 7
Portland	February 15
St. Louis	March 7
San Francisco Bay area	March 14
Salt Lake City	February 27
Seattle	February 14
Twin Cities	February 28

You can help fired unionists spread the word

"Everyone had another story. For example, I talked to a guy who had a similar experience—a miners official who told me about FBI surveillance of their pickets during the last miners strike."

Andree Kahlmorgan was talking

\$75,000 Socialist Fund

about her trip to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for the January 17-18 meetings of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

Kahlmorgan and Chris Hoepfner were in Harrisburg as part of their national tour to protest the firings of 15 trade unionists from the Lockheed aerospace plant in Marietta, Georgia.

Almost everyone at the labor antinu-

clear conference got materials on the Lockheed firings.

"As soon as I showed the literature to one UMWA official, she got everyone who had attended from her local to sign our petition demanding that Lockheed give us our jobs back," Kahlmorgan said.

"Our case is the tip of the iceberg," she said, "and people saw it that way."

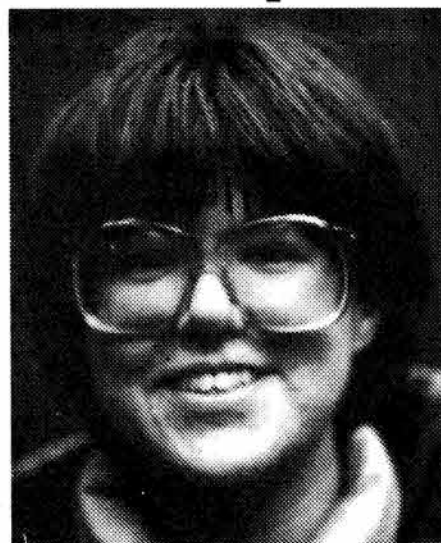
After the conference Hoepfner traveled to Albuquerque, New Mexico. There he spoke on a three-hour talk show.

The next day he was leafleting the General Electric plant. Several workers told him they had heard him on the radio the night before.

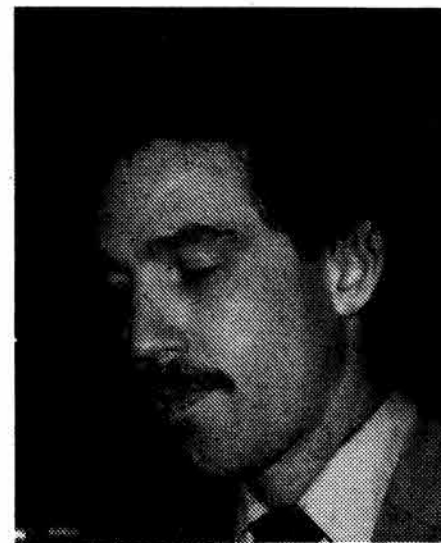
Hoepfner and Kahlmorgan's tours are paid for by the \$75,000 Socialist Fund launched in December.

The fund has raised more than \$30,000 to date.

Not only does it finance tours like this; in many other ways the fund will



ANDREE KAHLMORGAN



CHRIS HOEPFNER

make it possible to take advantage of opportunities created by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit.

You can contribute to the \$75,000 Fund by mailing your check or money order to: Socialist Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Where we are

\$30,600

\$75,000

Portland socialist headquarters vandalized

By Bev Scott

PORTLAND, Ore.—The windows of the campaign headquarters of Fred Auger, Socialist Workers candidate for city council, were broken the morning of February 1.

The attack took place the same day that Auger was scheduled to give a forum on the fight against racism. The

talk later took place without incident.

"I believe this attack on my campaign headquarters was politically motivated," said Auger, who is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1005.

"It is part of a pattern of harassment. Over the last several months, windows of the campaign headquarters have been defaced with stickers saying, 'Death to communist pigs.'"

Auger also linked the attack to racist harassment against Blacks in Oregon in recent months.

"Racist thugs burned a cross and repeatedly harassed a Black family in Milwaukie, Oregon," he said. "Police harassment continues in the Black community in Portland. There have

been racist stickers plastered through downtown Portland. The Ku Klux Klan has paraded in southern Oregon and the Nazis have circulated racist literature in Salem.

"My campaign will not be intimidated by threats and harassment," Auger said. "I refuse to back down from my campaign's 100 percent support for equal rights for Portland's Black community. I will not back off from my demand for jobs, for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, or for the U.S. government to keep its hands off the people of El Salvador.

I'll continue to campaign for making Portland a union town and for the unions to break with the parties of the bosses and form a labor party that will

champion the interests of workers," said Auger.

"I believe that these proposals represent the interests of working people in Portland. The thugs who threaten Blacks and try to intimidate socialists and union militants are promoting the interests of the bosses. I'm confident that the majority of working people in Portland stand with me in condemning right-wing terror."

Auger is demanding that city and state officials investigate both the attack on his campaign headquarters and the incidents of racist harassment reported by Blacks.

An SWP campaign statement condemning the attack was picked up by local newspapers and radio.

Georgia socialist answers right-wing smears

The following letter was published in the 'Atlanta Journal' January 21.

This is in reply to John Crown's Jan. 13 column, "A Different Party."

The charges that the Socialist Workers Party is a terrorist organization are patently untrue. After an intensive, 40-year investigation of the SWP, the FBI was unable to find a single criminal act by the socialists.

Crown relies solely on a book by Larry McDonald. McDonald is a well-known, ultra-right member of the John Birch Society who has spent much of his career trying to discredit the SWP as well as the trade union movement, womens'

rights struggles, etc.

As a result of the SWP's \$40 million lawsuit against the government, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, after months of hearings said, "FBI officials testified that the SWP has not been responsible for any violent acts, nor has it urged actions constituting an indictable incitement to violence."

A similar committee in the House of Representatives said, "the investigation, which FBI officials tacitly admitted has been conducted partially under the aegis of an unprosecutable statute, has revealed that the SWP is a highly law-abiding group."

Crown says it makes him "nervous as hell" that members of the SWP work at Lockheed, in a key

defense industry. No one, not even Lockheed, has raised job performance as the reason for the firings of the nine socialists. In fact, the fired workers all passed a company eight-hour proficiency test and had good work records. Some of them received upgrades. All of their work was routinely inspected by company and Air Force inspectors.

The nine socialists were fired after an intensive investigation by Lockheed which included electronic surveillance, use of company finks in the plant and at union meetings and spying on workers at home.

The investigation began after the SWP members handed out an election campaign leaflet at a meeting of their union, International Associa-

tion of Machinists Lodge 709. The campaign leaflet espoused the need for working people to form their own political party—a labor party. And it praised a proposal to this effect that was passed by the national convention of the IAM.

A labor party would fight for the interests of workers and would be in opposition to the twin parties of the bosses—the Democratic and Republican parties.

The Polish workers have shown us the awesome power we have when we unite. And that's exactly what Lockheed, McDonald and Crown are afraid of. . . .

Becky Ellis
Atlanta Branch Organizer
Socialist Workers Party

Who is Larry McDonald and what is he afraid of?

John Crown is a right-wing columnist for the *Atlanta Journal*. His place on the capitalist political spectrum can be deduced from his assessment of John Birchler Larry McDonald. Crown calls him "the finest member of the U.S. House of Representatives."

Finest member or not, McDonald is certainly among the more curious members of that curious body.

It's no coincidence that McDonald hails from Marietta, home of Lockheed-Georgia. Lockheed is by far the largest employer in McDonald's district.

Crown published a column in the *Journal* January 13 charging that the Socialist Workers Party is "terrorist."

Crown was moved to rush into print on this subject by the wave of

revulsion at Lockheed's firing of a group of union activists, some of whom are members of the Socialist Workers Party.

But Crown did not actually write most of the column. It consists of quotes lifted from a pamphlet called "Trotskyism and Terror: The Strategy of Revolution." Listed as author on the cover is Larry McDonald. But, it's safe to assume, McDonald didn't write most, or any, of this scurrilous tract. The question is, who did?

McDonald is a professional red-baiter. He's notorious for inserting reams of material on various left-wing groups into the *Congressional Record*. Where does McDonald get all his information? From "patriotic citizens," he says.

While he denies it, there's good

reason to suspect that McDonald's real source for the inside dope is none other than the FBI. Somebody is doing a lot of spying to come up with all this stuff, and it has FBI written all over it.

Among McDonald's favorite targets are the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. He calls them "terrorist." This is a lie, and he knows it.

The terrorist charge against labor militants is an old one. In this country it goes back at least to the "Molly Maguire" frame-up against coal miners in the last century.

What McDonald is really concerned about can be seen from a diatribe he inserted into the September 7, 1978, *Congressional Record*. McDonald takes aim at what

he terms SWP plans to "infiltrate trade unions."

Referring to a recent national socialist gathering, McDonald wrote, "It was reported that the SWP had increased its membership in the USWA [United Steelworkers] to 130 members of which 30 were people recruited from the steelworkers by SWP colonizers."

There you have it. What McDonald, John Crown, the FBI, along with Lockheed and the other bosses they serve, fear more than just about anything else is strong, fighting trade unions. They know that is the goal of socialists and other good union builders.

That's what the firings at Lockheed are all about.

—Nelson Blackstock

Support grows for nat'l antidraft conference

By Jennifer Moldwin

DETROIT—The decision of the Reagan administration to resume the flow of arms to the murderous El Salvador dictatorship—and more military “advisers” as well—intensifies the risk of direct U.S. military involvement in that country’s civil war.

That’s one of the reasons why Reagan so quickly reneged on his pre-election promise to oppose “peacetime” draft registration.

And that’s one of the reasons why it’s so important to build the antidraft movement into an even more effective force.

Recognition of this is reflected in the spurt of building activity for the national antidraft conference to be held here the weekend of February 13-15.

Here in Detroit, the sponsoring Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) is receiving support from a broad range of groups including high school students, unionists, Black and women’s rights activists, veterans organizations and Central American solidarity groups.

Such support is also being won in cities across the country.

Both Detroit CARD and the Twin Cities, Minnesota, Stop the Draft Com-

The rally and conference will be held on the Wayne State University Campus. For further information contact: CARD, Room 798, Student Center Building, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202, or call (313) 577-3451.

mittee enjoy the support of many high school activists. They are setting up high school antidraft committees and playing a major role in conference building.

In both cities they have written and distributed special leaflets targeting the high schools.

In Toledo, media work has been particularly successful. Several times a week there’s a radio talk show about the draft with a speaker from Toledo CARD.

There will be a film showing in Toledo February 10 and 11 of *El Salvador: Revolution or Death* as part of the effort to publicize the antidraft gathering.

Jennifer Moldwin is active in the Committee Against Registration and the Draft at Detroit's Cass Tech High School.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Growing U.S. intervention in El Salvador increases urgency of antidraft conference.

In Milwaukee, three groups are doing the principal building work for the conference. Joining Milwaukee CARD in the effort is the Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy and the University Committee Against the Draft.

These groups have set up tables and sent out newsletters to build the conference. They are coordinating transportation and plan to send several vans to Detroit.

Additional prominent individuals have agreed to participate in the opening rally Friday evening, February 13.

These include: Mark Stepp, a United Auto Workers vice president; U.S. Rep. John Conyers; and Rev. Ben Chavis of the Wilmington 10.

Rally speakers announced earlier were Rev. Jim Holley, president of Detroit Operation PUSH; Dick Greenwood, special assistant to International Association of Machinists president William Winpisinger; and Jerry Gordon of the Labor Committee for

Safe Energy and Full Employment.

The National Organization for Women has endorsed the conference, as has the Michigan Communist Party and Michigan state senator Edward Pierce.

Support has come from the Veterans for Peace, the Veterans Educational Project and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

In addition to the opening rally and plenary sessions, the conference will feature a series of workshops. Among these are: militarism and unemployment; draft counseling; the draft and foreign policy; women and the draft; El Salvador; the Persian Gulf and Iran; the Caribbean; lessons of the Vietnam antiwar movement; the draft and political repression.

There will also be constituency workshops relating to labor, Blacks, women, Hispanics, high school students, college students, veterans, and people in the military.

Vets for peace plan meeting

DETROIT—The founding convention of Michigan Veterans for Peace will be held at Wayne State University February 12-13.

The gathering was scheduled for those dates so that participants could also attend the national antidraft conference.

LeRoy Wolins, vice-commander of the national Veterans for Peace and a well-known figure in the anti-Vietnam War movement, appealed for vets to join in countering “Carter’s draft registration proposal and the increasing threat of war.”

For more information write to LeRoy Wolins at P.O. Box 711, Pullman, Michigan 49450, or call (616) 236-5880.

Martínez victory in first round

By Rose Peery

PUEBLO, Colo.—“This is just a partial victory, the final victory will be ours,” Francisco “Kiko” Martínez told supporters after a mistrial was declared January 31, the fourth day of his trial here.

Martínez, a Chicano lawyer and activist, is charged with mailing letter bombs to opponents of the Chicano movement in 1973.

The mistrial was requested by federal prosecutors after their key evidence—a fingerprint alleged to be Martínez’s—was shown to be circumstantial evidence.

Defense attorney Kenneth Padilla said, “They decided to throw in the towel. They gave up.”

Captain Nicoletti of the Denver Police Department testified that the fingerprint was found on a piece of poster board used to construct the bomb. He said it showed only that Martínez had touched the cardboard anytime up to a

year before it was mailed.

Exhaustive tests proved that Martínez’s fingerprints were not on other parts of the bomb or mailing material.

The prosecution wasn’t able to link the bomb to Martínez in any other way.

Throughout the proceedings the judge and jury expressed hostility toward Martínez.

The first day of the trial the judge banned any demonstrations or pickets outside the courthouse.

On the third day, a juror complained about Martínez supporters who were wearing “Free Kiko” T-shirts. Another objected to one of the defense attorneys wearing sunglasses.

This trial was only the first of five cases the government is bringing against Martínez, so his defense remains a vital cause.

Contributions and messages of support can be sent to: Francisco “Kiko” Martínez Defense Committee, Post Office Box 753, Alamosa, Colorado 81101.

Justice demanded for mexicanos

By Josefina Otero

PHOENIX—“The Hanigan brothers are not the only ones on trial at this time, but also the system is on trial,” Ben Miranda told a January 26 news conference here.

Miranda is a spokesperson for the Phoenix Support Committee for the National Coalition on the Hanigan Case, set up in support of three Mexican workers brutally tortured by the Hanigan family in 1976.

Manuel García, Bernabé Herrera, and Eleazar Ruelas were “caught” on the Douglas ranch, owned by the Hanigans, while on their way to jobs they had been promised at another ranch.

Thomas and Patrick Hanigan and their father George Hanigan stripped and robbed the *mexicanos* at gunpoint, then tied them up, pistol-whipped them, burned them with hot poker, and threatened to castrate and hang them.

Finally the Hanigans released their victims, firing buckshot at them as they fled.

In a county trial in 1977, an all-white

jury found the Hanigans not guilty. A federal trial in 1980 resulted in a hung jury. A third trial began January 26.

“Twenty percent of this state is Chicano and 25 percent of this county is Chicano and again we have a trial that will not include jurors that are the peers of the three *mexicanos*,” Miranda told the news conference.

Although two juries were selected to try the two brothers separately (the father died in 1977), out of a total of thirty-two jurors there are no Chicanos or *mexicanos* and only one Black.

The three Mexican victims “are going through a tremendous ordeal,” Miranda said, “almost as if they were the criminals in this trial.”

He also explained that seating at the trial has been set up so as to restrict participation by supporters of the *mexicanos*.

For more information write to Phoenix Support Committee for the National Coalition on the Hanigan Case, 1201 South First Avenue, Phoenix, Arizona 85006, or call (602) 253-3541.

Revolutionary offensive in El Salvador

'It may take days, weeks, years—but we will win'

By David Frankel

On January 10 the revolutionary fighters in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) issued a call for a general offensive against the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador.

"The hour has arrived to begin the decisive military and insurrectional battles for the taking of power by the people and for the formation of a revolutionary democratic government," the FMLN declared.

What has been the result of the general offensive launched by the liberation fighters so far?

According to the capitalist press, the FMLN offensive has been a failure.

"Two weeks after launching their long-awaited 'final offensive,' El Salvador's leftist guerrillas have so far posed no serious threat to the country's civilian-military junta, although the Government is not yet claiming that the rebels have been defeated," the *New York Times* reported January 26.

U.S. sends aid

The propaganda coincided with the resumption of U.S. military aid to the junta on January 14, and with then-



Solidarity demonstrations like this one in Austin, Texas, January 24, are crucial to success of Salvadoran revolution. An FDR representative speaking in Managua said: 'The Salvadoran people are up against an army backed by the most powerful imperialist force on earth.'

Coming next week

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba

A look at the current thinking and plans of the Cuban leaders on economic development, revolutionary struggles in Central America, Reagan's threats, the battle against bureaucratic tendencies in Cuba, events in Poland, and Cuba's stance in the Nonaligned bloc.

President Carter's approval of an additional \$5 million in arms for the junta on January 16.

Six UH1H ("Huey") helicopters, the type used by the Pentagon in Vietnam, were rushed to San Salvador along with U.S. advisers.

With Ronald Reagan's assumption of office, the junta is doubtless counting on additional help from Washington. It has already begun to use incendiary bombs, similar in effect to the napalm used in Vietnam.

Also reminiscent of Vietnam-style body counts was the junta's claim that nearly 1,000 guerrilla fighters had been killed in the first stage of the FMLN's offensive.

U.S. intelligence agencies say the FMLN has some 5,000-6,000 full-time fighters.

Apparently the junta's troops, who are in the habit of assuming that any peasant or worker they meet is liable to be a guerrilla, counted the bodies of all their innocent victims as FMLN casualties.

FMLN successes

It is true, of course, that the FMLN has not yet succeeded in overthrowing the junta and installing a new revolutionary regime in San Salvador. However, the revolutionary forces have recorded significant successes in the first stage of their offensive.

To begin with, the FMLN forces proved their ability to mount a coordinated, nationwide offensive, to act as an army. As *Washington Post* correspondent Christopher Dickey pointed out in a January 17 dispatch:

"With the war erupting in city slums and villages, around military garrisons and in the sugar cane fields, the guerrillas have proven they can mount coordinated actions virtually anywhere in this overcrowded Central American country and operate almost freely in the rural areas."

Furthermore, the FMLN did not have to confine itself to hit-and-run raids. It took control of numerous

towns and villages, and it mounted sustained actions in major cities throughout the country.

Commenting on the significance of the first stage of the offensive, Ana Guadalupe Martínez, a leader of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) on a diplomatic mission in Canada, remarked:

"It has been a concrete demonstration of the ability, discipline, and level of combativity of the revolutionary forces. It placed the enemy army in serious straits, and even immobilized it for two or three days."

Another aspect of the offensive has been the continuing process of defections from the junta. On January 11 Lt. Col. Bruno Navarrete of the National Guard announced his defection to the FMLN. On the same day, an entire unit of the army in Santa Ana went over to the FMLN.

And on January 29 two top economic officials—Nelson Romero, the general manager of the National Coffee Institute, and Carlos Federico Paredes, the government's vice-minister of planning—declared their support for the revolutionary forces.

The junta's increasing isolation is a one-way street. There are no reports of opposition figures, FDR leaders, or FMLN soldiers going over to the side of the junta.

Evaluation of general strike

Since the media cannot credibly claim that the junta is gaining substantial popular support, it has insisted that the masses are largely indifferent to both sides in the civil war and that the FDR and FMLN have little backing.

A similar device of portraying the workers and peasants as unwilling spectators caught in the middle of the fight was used in the early days of the insurrection against the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua.

In keeping with this line, the British *Economist* declared, "A nationwide strike called by the left never caught on." The *Christian Science Monitor* reported that the strike "fizzled." And according to *Time* magazine, the figurehead civilian president in the hated junta, José Napoleón Duarte, had the gall to claim that the FMLN's supposed "setback" was due "to its failure to win popular support."

During the international Nicaragua solidarity conference held in Managua at the end of January, one of the FDR representatives on a panel that discussed the current situation in El Salvador took up this question.

He said that the general strike had been partial and uneven, but that the FDR did not consider it a failure in view of the intensity of the repression. In fact, workers could be—and were—killed for participating in the strike.

What the struggle is about

The lies and distortions in the media are so pervasive that it is useful to once again recall the fundamental facts about the struggle now unfolding in El Salvador.

Most of the people in El Salvador—60 percent—live in the countryside and are dependent on agriculture. But 2 percent of the Salvadoran population owns 60 percent of the land, while two-thirds of the peasantry owns no land at all.

Health care, running water, and electricity are unknown in the peasant villages and in many working-class neighborhoods of the big cities. In 1973 the average wage in the manufacturing and service sectors in El Salvador was \$1.64 per day.

Faced with rising mass struggles against these conditions, the military

dictatorship of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero instituted ferocious repression.

But Romero's attacks on the mass movement only succeeded in provoking greater opposition to his regime. The victory of the Nicaraguan revolution in July 1979 was a further inspiration to the Salvadoran masses and a big blow to Romero.

Hoping to head off the gathering revolution, Washington sponsored a coup in October 1979. The new junta promised an end to repression and extensive social reforms.

But when mass demonstrations broke out demanding an accounting of those who had disappeared into Romero's prisons and the punishment of Romero's torturers, the junta showed its true colors. The death toll in the first two weeks of the junta's rule exceeded the slaughter during Romero's last nine-and-a-half months in power.

The junta's much-heralded land reform, planned by the CIA's American Institute for Free Labor Development, has done nothing for the masses of poor peasants, while leaving the coffee holdings which account for 44 percent of Salvadoran exports completely untouched.

Every honest and decent person who attempts to speak out and tell the truth about what is happening in El Salvador—priests and nuns, journalists, political leaders, and human rights activists—becomes a target of the government's death squads.

The junta's method of rule is symbolized by the dozens of maimed and tortured bodies found every morning in El Salvador.

The Salvadoran people know that there is no way out of this nightmare except through the overthrow of the junta. They also are well aware that this will not be an easy or simple task.

Unlike the situation in Nicaragua before the overthrow of Somoza, there is no split within the Salvadoran ruling class.

Furthermore, the Salvadoran capitalists represent a stronger class with deeper social roots than was the case in Nicaragua. This is reflected in the size of ultrarightist organizations such as ORDEN, which claims to have some 100,000 members.

Although Washington is not in a position to intervene in El Salvador

Continued on page 21

Germany: 20,000 march in solidarity with El Salvador

By Lüko Willms

FRANKFURT, West Germany—Twenty thousand people marched here on Saturday, January 31, to demand a halt to U.S. intervention in El Salvador and to express solidarity with the revolutionary democratic opposition in that country.

The demonstration was called by the Munich-based Information Office on El Salvador, which coordinates about eighty solidarity committees in West Germany and West Berlin.

It was supported by representatives of the metalworkers union, the public and transport workers union, the printers union, the Young Socialists (Social Democratic Party youth), Social Democratic members of Parliament, various left-wing groups, Christian groups, student organizations, Chilean exile organizations, and organizations of Turkish immigrant workers.

The speakers included Karsten Voigt, a Social Democratic spokesperson in the foreign relations committee of the Bundestag, the federal parliament; Gottfried Heil, regional secretary of the national trade-union federation; a speaker for the Chilean exile community; a representative of the Turkish

immigrant workers organizations; Victor Leandro, the representative of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) in West Germany; and Ana Guadalupe Martínez, member of the diplomatic commission of the FDR and of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

Chants and banners opposed U.S. intervention in El Salvador and demanded that the West German government take a strong stand against such intervention and recognize the FDR. West German coffee companies, which buy about half of El Salvador's coffee crop, were denounced.

El Salvador is becoming a focus of West German national politics. The government headed by Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt will discuss it shortly.

The German Social Democratic Party has a stance sympathizing with the FDR. But Heiner Geissler, the general secretary of the Christian Democratic Party, supports the junta. Geissler is touring Central America.

Polemics on this issue between Christian Democratic and Social Democratic politicians are becoming more common.

Ex-hostage statements sink media torture claims

By Fred Feldman

The lies about torture of the ex-U.S. hostages, which filled the media in the first days after their release, have faded fast.

Outright lies were punctured and the gross exaggerations deflated as the ex-hostages themselves became able to tell their stories.

The February 1 *Washington Post* admitted, after interviews with many of the hostages, that "intimidation through physical brutality, as torture is frequently understood to mean, was apparently never employed."

State Department sources were reported to have conceded that "Carter's emotional expression of outrage over the hostages' treatment after his meeting with the 52 just-released hostages in West Germany, coupled with initial news reports, created an exaggerated picture of the mistreatment the Americans received."

Worst cases

The phoniness of the torture stories is highlighted by examining the worst cases of alleged abuse.

Ex-hostage Michael Metrisko was described in the January 30 *New York Times* as "one of the freed Americans apparently most abused by their Iranian captors." He reportedly told a *Times* interviewer that his treatment had been especially harsh as compared with that of the other hostages.

What emerges, if all Metrisko's claims are taken as gospel, is a story of imprisonment—not torture.

The *Times* interview asserted that Metrisko, after having been blindfolded and bound for the first few days after the embassy takeover, "was kept in solitary confinement for long periods, part of the time in cramped, unheated prison cells while snow fell outside and the walls exuded a cold sweat." He said that his "solitary confinement" ended in April.

The *Times* interview stated that Metrisko's "record as a political officer had led the Iranians to think he was a spy." It went on to say that his captors



Victims of 'Black Friday,' the 1978 slaughter of Iranian demonstrators ordered by shah. Media lies about hostage 'torture' but refuses to expose full truth of brutality carried out by shah's secret police.

discovered "classified reports on political conditions in Iran and files containing the names of the many Iranians he knew" among what he called his personal papers.

Metrisko thought his behavior toward the Iranians may have affected his treatment. "I assume the guards didn't like being told they were a bunch of dogs," he said, "or that their Imam was psychotic or paranoid, or that they were a bunch of criminals." I imagine not.

Certainly, more than a few U.S. Blacks, Hispanics, and working people have been beaten to within an inch of their lives and even murdered by cops and prison guards for milder backtalk.

And Metrisko made no claim of having been beaten.

'Monstrous dwarf'

Robert Blucker, economics officer at the embassy, made an effort to back up claims of torture. His torment was to have once allegedly been guarded by "a monstrous dwarf with a huge head

and no neck." He claimed his captors struck him on that occasion—his second day of captivity—"knocking his glasses across the room," according to a report in the January 29 *New York Times*.

Quite a comedown from the tales of bestial brutality that the media marketed while the former hostages were still in U.S. government custody.

But most ex-hostages are not even claiming rough treatment on this scale. Lt. Commander Robert Engelmann said the media's stress on allegations of torture was "unfair."

Speaking from his home in Globe, Arizona, January 30, Marine Sergeant James Lopez charged that reports of mistreatment had been "overblown and exaggerated."

"Every little piece of information that came out was made to look like more than it was," he said. "Some statements I made to my family were misquoted."

Some Americans are beginning to suspect that they have been hyped once again by the media and govern-

ment. "A senior White House official who met [the former hostages] in West Germany last week said it was 'almost a miracle that all seemed to be in good condition physically,'" commented columnist Alan Richman in the January 27 *Boston Globe*. "Good physical condition is almost never the result of a miracle. It is more likely the 52 were not as badly mistreated as we think."

SAVAK torture

According to the *New York Times*, ex-hostage Metrisko felt the American captives "were treated worse than Savak, the Shah's secret police, treated most of its victims."

Let's leave aside the fact that many of the shah's prisoners never returned to their homes, but were executed or died in prison.

Let's remember the tortures for which the shah's regime was indicted by authoritative world organizations such as Amnesty International. These included:

- electric shock;
- rape;
- enemas with boiling water;
- tearing out of nails and teeth;
- an electrically wired iron bed designed to burn the person on it;
- pressing of the skull in a vise, sometimes until it cracked;
- insertion of bottles into the rectum;
- hanging weights from testicles.

This monstrous torture was even committed against five- and six-year-old children.

No former hostage has reported anything even dimly comparable.

And SAVAK was organized, supplied, and trained by Washington.

It was the U.S. government's role in imposing and maintaining the shah in power for twenty-five years that led Iranians to seize the embassy when they heard he had been welcomed into the United States.

And it was Washington's refusal to consider Iran's demands and grievances that stretched the crisis out for 444 days.

What was real mood at 'welcome home' parade?

By Nelson González

To believe the media, the January 30 ticker tape parade for some of the ex-hostages in New York City culminated a process that has generated a "new spirit" of national unity.

New York's Mayor Edward Koch called the parade, "an extraordinary, near religious experience—almost a mystical experience."

This trance-like condition is said to have reached such intensity that in one stroke it removed all distrust of the government. As one ex-hostage put it, "Americans are much more comfortable with their feelings about their country."

And between the lines, the message comes through: American working peo-

ple are now ready to buy Washington's foreign policy. If Reagan decides to send us to El Salvador or the Persian Gulf to fight, we—inspired by having welcomed the ex-hostages—will rally to the call.

However, some of the media felt obliged to let a glimmer of reality seep into their coverage.

More than a few people are disgusted with the exploitation of the former hostages.

"At a bar in downtown Detroit one night last week 500 customers, most of them black, many of them unemployed, waited for a band to start its second set. 'Let's hear one for the hostages,' a band member shouted to

the microphone, only to be greeted with loud and persistent boos," reported the January 28 *Washington Post*.

The same article quotes the Reverend Jesse Jackson: "There's great concern over the hostages coming home. But there's also great concern over the hostages at home." A spokesman for PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) pointed out that some Blacks feel they have been held hostage for the last 300 years.

A closer look at the New York parade shows that it was hardly an outburst of frenzied patriotism.

Most of the million or more people who were reported to have seen some part of the parade simply wanted to catch a glimpse of the former hostages. People were glad to see them home and as one would come by, there would be cheers.

Most people in the crowd were either on extended lunch breaks paid by their employers or were high-school-age youth who were given the day off to attend the parade.

In a city whose composition is nearly half Black, Puerto Rican, and Hispanic, the crowd was overwhelmingly white.

Occasional chants of "USA, USA" would start in parts of the crowd, but they were not picked up. Only a very small portion openly exhibited anti-Iranian sentiment.

Interviews taken among the bystanders provoked some interesting comments.

When this reporter asked a group of Black women if they had heard that several of the hostages had denied being tortured, one responded, "You

know how the media is. It's all a lot of propaganda. They're always doing that."

"How come there's no money for Sydenham Hospital in Harlem [recently shut down by the Koch administration], but plenty of money for ticker tape parades," I asked. She replied, "Well you know what they think of Black people. Do you think if there had been fifty-two Black hostages over there, they would have made all this fuss. Forget it. They won't even give us a holiday for Martin Luther King."

When asked about Carter's decision to let the shah into this country—which set off the embassy crisis—one Hispanic woman replied, "We're supposed to have freedom here. This is a democratic country that opposes oppression. Why should we have let in a shah that robbed, tortured, and oppressed his own people?"

When a graduate student was asked about the alleged torture of the hostages, she replied, "I saw that press conference at West Point and I heard about *Newsweek* making up that false interview [one of the hostages repudiated a story quoting her as claiming to have been forced to play Russian Roulette]."

"There's supposed to be freedom of the press here, but they are a bunch of hypocrites for printing all that propaganda about torture."

These interviews showed that people are satisfied to see the ex-hostages home. But far from feeling "comfortable" about the way this country is today, many are getting fed up with the racists and hypocrites who run it.

And no amount of media wishful thinking will change that.



Mayor Koch leads New York parade. 'How come there's no money for Sydenham Hospital but plenty of money for ticker tape parades?'

How Carter began Reagan cutback drive

By William Gottlieb

At his first news conference as president, Ronald Reagan said he will press ahead with his plans for big cuts in social programs. Reagan said his spending cuts will "be bigger than anyone has ever attempted."

Although Reagan called this a "change of direction," some press commentators have noted that he is following along the path blazed by his predecessor, liberal Democrat James Carter.

In the January 20 *Christian Science Monitor*, Joseph Harsch wrote that Carter did a number of things "which will ease the road for his successor."

Harsch cited Carter's decontrol of oil prices, a process which has just been completed by Reagan.

'Accepted the odium'

Although decontrol was unpopular, Harsch wrote, "It had to be done. Almost everyone is willing to recognize that today."

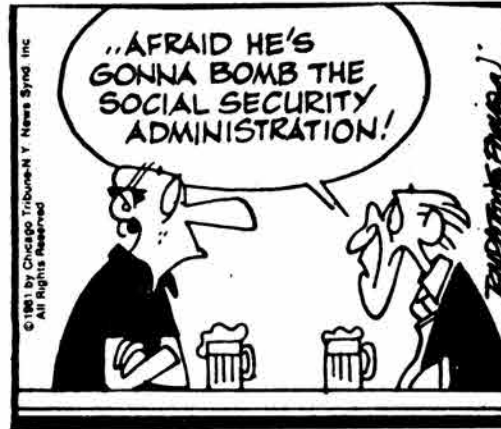
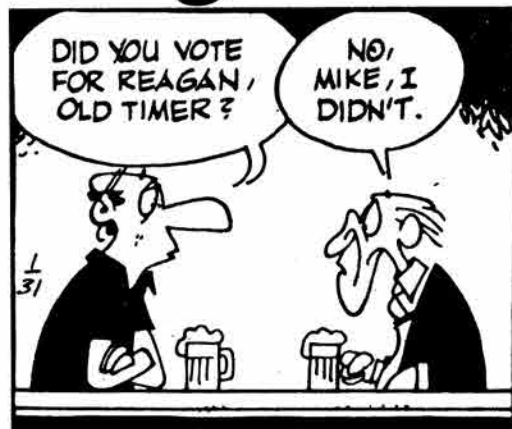
Presumably "everyone" means Democratic and Republican politicians, corporate executives, and the capitalist news media.

"Mr. Reagan can be thankful that Mr. Carter accepted the odium of being the first to do it," Harsch said.

The *Wall Street Journal* sounded the same theme January 16 in a column by Norman Miller under the headline, "Jimmy Carter's Budget Deserves Attention."

In his last days in office, Carter submitted a budget proposal for fiscal 1982 and the annual *Economic Report of the President*. Later this month Reagan will announce his proposed changes in the budget and his own economic message.

Carter wrote: "As part of a program of anti-inflationary fiscal restraint I



am recommending a number of steps that will help to cut the deficit in half, to \$27.5 billion in the new budget for fiscal year 1982, and reducing it still further to \$8 billion in 1983, despite the substantial increases in defense spending which I find it necessary to recommend for those years" (emphasis added).

The outgoing Democrat proposed several measures to finance this reduction in the federal deficit in the face of soaring war spending. They include an increase in the tax on gasoline, a delay in implementation of national health insurance, and a revision in the way the Consumer Price Index is calculated so as to show less inflation.

This last measure would reduce cost-of-living raises in union contracts with private corporations as well as payments on Social Security and other federal social programs.

Tax breaks for business

While demanding these sacrifices from working people, Carter proposed major tax breaks for business.

He wanted to see the tax break on depreciation of business assets signifi-

cantly increased. He complained: "That credit is now only partially available for short-lived assets; it should be made fully available."

As if that were not enough, the outgoing president even proposed in some cases the government pay taxes to business.

"Even more importantly, part of the investment tax credit should be made refundable. Firms should be able to claim 30 percent of the value of the credit even if they had no tax liabilities for the year," Carter wrote.

Carter boasted that if his proposed tax program were adopted it "would reduce business tax liabilities by \$9 billion in calendar year 1981, \$15 billion in 1982, and by 1985 the reductions would amount to over \$27 billion."

And Carter said this would be just the beginning!

Praise from big business

Wall Street Journal columnist Miller applauded Carter, saying that he had made "a remarkably candid acknowledgement that the social programs his party championed for so long need to

be curbed if inflation is ever to be brought under control.

"Mr. Carter specifically cites a need to restrain the great 'entitlement' programs—Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps, unemployment compensation and various welfare programs."

On Social Security, this big-business mouthpiece is especially pleased that Carter did not limit himself to talking about cutting administrative costs but insisted on cutting actual benefits.

Miller proclaimed that "a Democratic President's frank analysis could assist a Republican President to start attacking fundamental causes of the terribly difficult spending problem."

In ordinary language this means that the current attack on the social gains made by working people since the 1930s is not only a conservative Republican policy but a bipartisan policy of the Democrats and Republicans, liberals as well as conservatives.

Is there a better argument for the union movement to break with the twin parties of the bosses?

Alabama residents protest plans for toxic waste sites

By Marty Boyers

BIRMINGHAM—Residents here are protesting plans to establish toxic waste facilities at two county sites. Over 100 were present at a meeting held January 10 by the Citizens for a Safe Environment.

Ashvins, USA, has applied to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for a temporary permit for a storage site near Birmingham and a shipping facility at Port Osborne.

After the Love Canal scandal two years ago, the EPA was forced to stop issuing permanent permits for toxic waste storage until its regulations are

overhauled. But it allowed companies handling toxic wastes as of August, 1980, to obtain temporary permits.

Ashvins, USA, first stated that it met the EPA requirement, then acknowledged that it was "mistaken." Providing false information to the EPA is a criminal offense, but no action has been taken against the company.

Ashvins, USA, chose two sites outside city limits to evade municipal regulations. Their Port Osborne facility is on the Warrior River, a major waterway used for shipping and fish-

ing—and for drinking water.

The storage site is near a major water main, directly over a complex of abandoned, flooded mines. Any leak could expose hundreds of thousands of people to poison in their water or food.

Ashvins, USA, claims that the waste will be shipped from Port Osborne down the Warrior River to the Bahamas. But the January 10 *Birmingham Post-Herald* reported that the Bahamian government and the State Department were unaware of the plan. Furthermore, shipping toxic wastes out of the United States violates federal law.

In its application, the company stated that it would handle 2,000 tons of toxic waste a month, from fifteen states. Polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) were specifically mentioned.

Also discovered at Love Canal, PCBs are chemicals linked to cancer, and to diseases of the skin, liver, and reproductive system. They may also cause birth defects.

The EPA has denied a request for a public hearing on the Ashvins, USA, application, although officials agreed to meet with a delegation from Citizens for a Safe Environment on January 13.

FROM PATHFINDER

Revolutionary Continuity

The Early Years/1848-1917

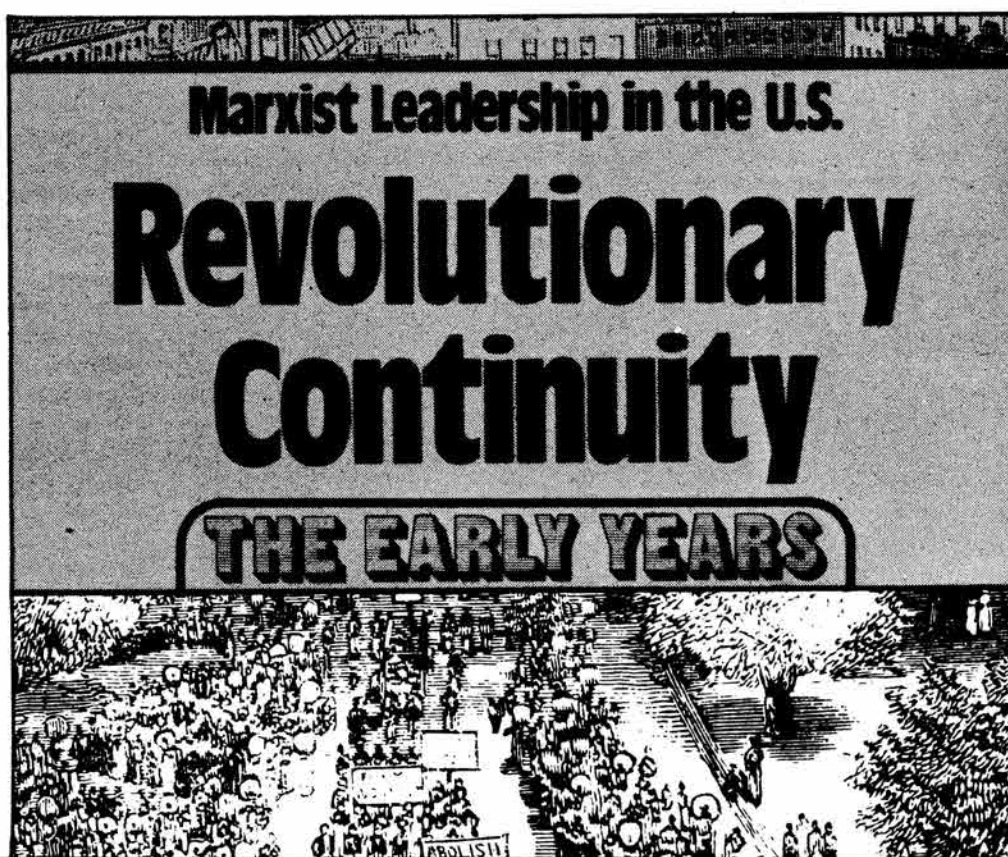
by Farrell Dobbs

Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the 1934 Minneapolis teamster strikes and national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party 1953-72, traces the revolutionary continuity of Marxist leadership in the U.S.

This first volume, in a series, covers the origins of Marxism in Europe, its influence on the rise of the Marxist and labor movements in this country, and the impact of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The book describes the roots and revolutionary heritage of the Marxist movement today. \$5.45.

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Gordon: 'March 28 puts antinuclear movement back on the offensive'

The following speech was given by Jerry Gordon, coordinator of the National Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, at its January 18 planning meeting in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

There are six reasons why the National Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment should endorse and build the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg called by the Greater Harrisburg Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

First, because we badly need a visible action by the antinuclear movement now.

Second, in solidarity with the Harrisburg people.

Third, as a solidarity action for the United Mine Workers.

Fourth, to help unify the antinuclear movement.

Fifth, to underscore the demand for jobs and full employment.

Sixth, it would be appropriate in view of the imminent change in administration—our response to Ronald Reagan.

After Three Mile Island, the nuclear industry went into hiding for a while. They were down, but they were far from out.

Soon after, they recouped and they've been on an all-out offensive ever since, with a big propaganda campaign, organizing groups and getting to the public in every way; and it's had its effect.

It's imperative now that this be countered by a highly visible, massive public activity.

Marching is our tradition

It's certainly in the tradition of the antinuclear movement.

It's also true that street marches and demonstrations are in the tradition of the labor movement—at least historically. We marched to get unemployment compensation, social security, and in the heat of the depression, to organize workers.

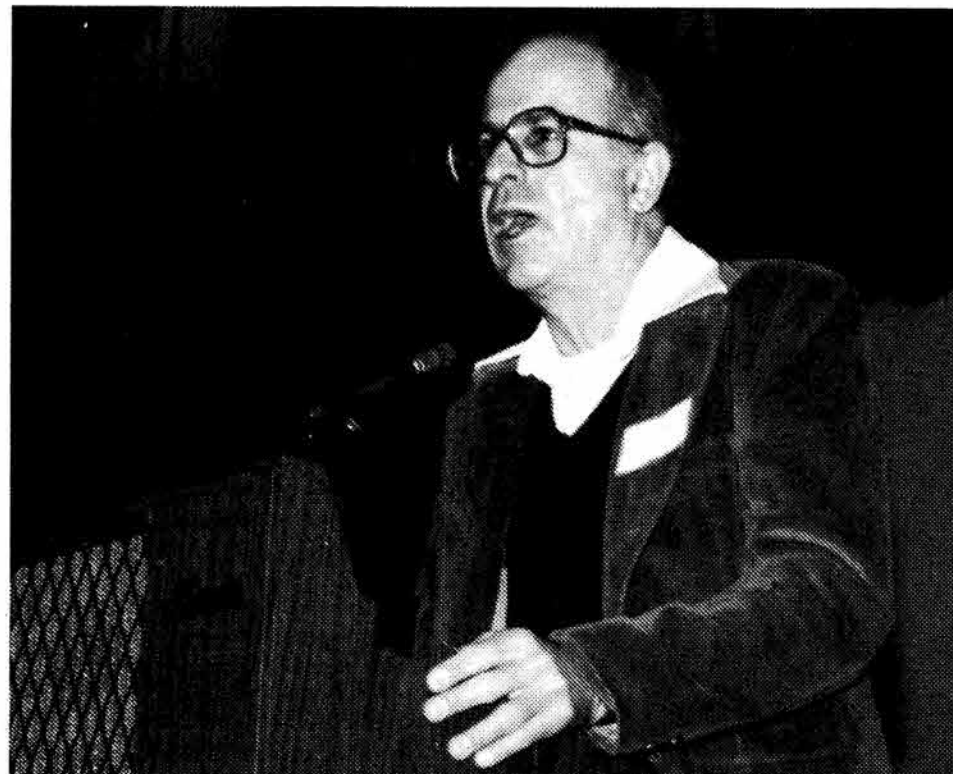
We stopped marching, and we've been losing ever since. We lost the fight for labor law reform. And if instead of concentrating on putting millions of post cards on the desks of the members of Congress, we had concentrated on putting millions of workers on the streets of Washington, we would have won that fight.

This is not going to be a one-day event. What's projected is the most intensive kind of activity between now and March 28.

We want to distribute tens or hundreds of thousands of leaflets; raise this issue in all of our union organizations, even if it's only for discussion and for debate; get endorsements; unite with the antinuclear organizations; go to all sections of the community.

It will be a period of mass education, and it will be a period where the antinuclear movement goes back on the offensive.

The movement will grow. There will



Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, addresses January 18 meeting in Harrisburg.

be a greater confidence by the activists, and a recognition that we do speak for millions of people.

Showdown fight

The second reason I think it is important that we endorse this demonstration is to show our support and solidarity with the people in Harrisburg.

I recall at the regional workshop in Pittsburgh, Ed Clinch of the Machinists union said the following, "It seems as if everybody's forgotten Harrisburg."

He said, "My god, we've got big problems. They are trying to reopen Unit 1. We need help in this fight."

If Unit 1 opens, after the disaster here at Unit 2, it's going to be a signal to everyone that there's going to be a great expansion of nuclear power in this country. This has got to be a showdown fight.

There are 700,000 gallons of radioactive water in Unit 2 of TMI, and it is rising by the day. The way they want to dispose of it is by dumping it in the Susquehanna River, where there is clean water.

In Lancaster County there are 100,000 people who drink water out of the Susquehanna River. It also flows into the Chesapeake Bay, and people drink that water in Baltimore.

In addition, that water goes through the steel mills in Baltimore, and the workers in those mills are going to come into contact with that water.

Radioactive water

What is projected here is an atrocity. It reminds me of the dropping of the atom bombs in the Nevada proving grounds while the GIs, sons of workers who were out there, were unprotected; and the generals and the scientists who assured them that it was all safe

were far away with protective clothing. Now many of these GIs have come down with cancer.

There was a brother who spoke at the regional conference yesterday who said, "I want to scream with anger."

I think with this projected inhuman, unbelievable atrocity, we have got to have anger—anger ought to fuel this movement. It ought to energize us.

We've got to get to those 100,000 people who drink that water and say "March on Harrisburg on March 28" and say "No dumping of radioactive water!"

We've got a good representation here from Baltimore. We hope you're going to go back to Baltimore and move that community and move those steelworkers.

I spoke at a steelworkers hall—one of the big locals. And the president, Dave Wilson, came over afterwards and said, "I'm scared, and our members are scared."

We've got to go from being scared to getting out in the streets and marching and joining in around this demand. Let's have a big contingent of steelworkers from Baltimore on March 28.

Support the miners

The third reason to endorse the march is to show support for the United Mine Workers. Their contract expires the day before the demonstration.

What looms for the miners is a major battle. I know they are hoping to get a contract without the necessity of one of those long, difficult strikes.

But the miners aren't going to call the strike. It's the coal operators that call the strike by trying to impose impossible conditions. We should remember the battle of 1977-78, when the miners were out for 111 days.

Because of the difficult work that the miners do under unsafe conditions, because of the rich tradition of the Mine Workers union, the willingness of the members to endure and to sacrifice, their courage in defying federal injunctions and staying out on strike when the government orders them back in—for all these reasons, the miners have a special place in the American labor movement.

The United Mine Workers was the first union to agree to sponsor the national conference. They contributed a great deal toward the expenses, and hundreds of miners came to that conference.

Substitute coal for nuclear

We have an interest in that union, and we have an interest in supporting the substitution of coal for nuclear—the substitution of union coal for nu-

clear, as one of the brothers pointed out.

Now the fate of the entire labor movement is closely tied to the miners. Remember, there's negotiations for 600,000 postal workers, half a million railroad workers—a total of two and one-half million workers this year.

If the employers can weaken or bust the miners union, every other union is next.

Many of our friends in the environmental movement may ask, "Well, this is strange. You're telling us to come to an antinuclear demonstration, but now you have this demand 'Support for the United Mine Workers.' We don't quite see how that fits in."

We're going to have to explain to anyone who asks that question that when we joined the environmental movement, we did not leave the labor movement.

Nothing is more important in building a movement for safe energy and full employment than defending the union that is increasingly leading the fight for full employment and safe energy, and that is the miners union.

Movement needs focus

The fourth reason that I think it's imperative that we endorse this demonstration is because it provides a means of uniting the antinuclear movement.

The movement needs a focus. It's always been in the past that the community antinuclear movement would hold marches and demonstrations and come to us and ask for our support.

This is going to be an historic march. This is the first march in history where the labor movement in Harrisburg is sponsoring and leading a march, and now we're going to ask the community.

The fifth reason we should endorse this demonstration is because we're not only the Labor Committee for Safe Energy, but we're also the Labor Committee for Full Employment.

It's projected that in the first six months of this year, unemployment is going to grow by another million. We've tied jobs to energy—that's been our main thrust.

But jobs don't just depend upon energy. Even if our program was adopted, it would mean many more jobs, but it wouldn't begin to meet the needs of the unemployed and to put the workers of this country back to work.

For a shorter workweek

The slogan for a shorter workweek is a slogan we've got to fight for.

Likewise for a public works program. We're talking about public works of a constructive type: mass transit, housing, hospitals, schools, parks, and so on.

We've got to go to the lines of the unemployed and say, "Join us to demand jobs." We have to go to the Black community, which is particularly suffering with the disproportionate high rate of unemployment, and get Black workers to this march.

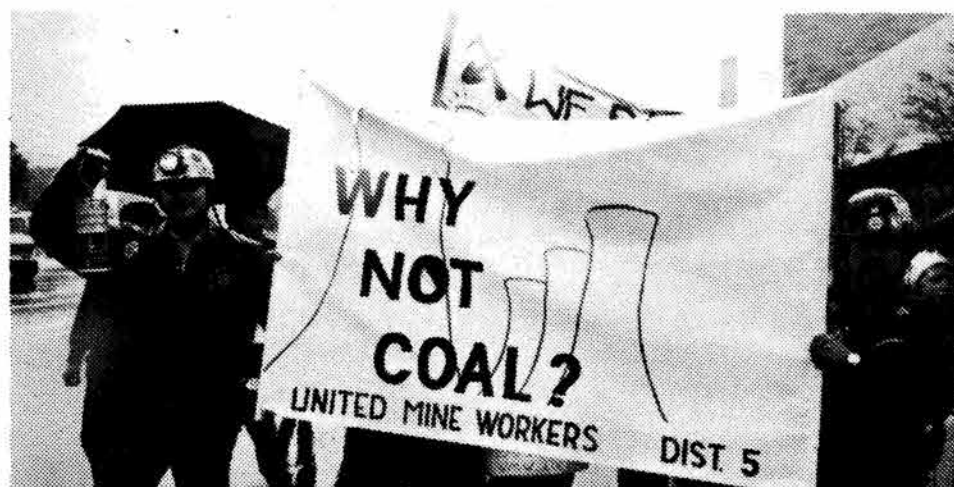
We've got to demand jobs for nuclear workers, because we do want to shut down those plants and we do want to be sensitive to the needs and concerns of our brothers and sisters who work in those plants and who construct them.

Reagan for nuclear power

Finally, in case you didn't know it, within another forty-eight hours, we're going to have a new president, Ronald Reagan.

If you have read what some of the people in the labor movement are saying, it seems that the theme is, "Let's wait and see. Let's give him the benefit of the doubt."

But let's take a look at where Reagan stands. First of all on the issue of nuclear power. He's for all-out development, acceleration of nuclear power.



United Mine Workers union is taking the lead in labor's fight against nuclear power and for jobs.

He's for the breeder reactor, which produces more plutonium than it consumes.

Reagan wants to decontrol what's left of the controls on oil and natural gas, so that prices can shoot way up and energy become more expensive—all for greater profits.

There are other issues of concern to us as trade unionists. There's talk by Reagan or his administration or some of these senators who are heading up committees of gutting OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration], rescinding Davis/Bacon [a law requiring that union-scale wages be paid on federally-funded construction projects], and that's going to affect the construction workers.

Cuts to social services

They're talking about putting us under the antitrust laws, so that we can't have national bargaining.

They are talking about subminimum wage for teenagers, tightening up on disability payments for black lung disease, deep budget cuts on matters of human welfare.

They want to undermine affirmative action programs for minorities and women, which are already inadequate.

At the same time, they want to increase by some \$20 billion, bringing it close to \$200 billion, what they give to the Pentagon.

They also have now appointed an ambassador to the U.N. who has said very openly that this country should henceforth support repressive regimes—support regimes that repress workers, that outlaw unions, that kill and torture and terrorize their population.

Militarist administration

We've got this guy Haig. In our meeting in Pittsburgh, [UMWA President] Sam Church warned of the dangers of sending young workers to fight in the Middle East to protect the oil interests.

It sounds like Haig is ready to do

that tomorrow, if he doesn't send them to El Salvador first to prop up the regime there.

In citing the dangers of the Reagan administration, I don't mean to suggest, it's certainly not my opinion, that life would be so much radically better under Carter.

It's just that Carter is leaving the arena, and we're concerned about what is going to go on in the White House in Washington, and not what's going to be going on in Miss Lillian's house in Plains.

To say to wait and see under these circumstances makes about as much sense as if we were in the direct path of a collapsing building and we would say, "Well, I think I'm going to wait and see what's going to happen."

Labor must fight back

It's absolutely essential that the safe energy segment of the labor movement be the section that says, "No, not wait and see, but unite and fight back, mobilize, organize, take to the streets."

We don't know how many trade unionists will heed our call. But at least let the call be sounded, let the alarm be sounded, because if the response doesn't come this time—as they come down on us more and more—working people will remember that this is the way to go, this is the strategy to follow.

We've got a lot of power, potential power. We've got the endorsement of the Miners. We've got the endorsement of the Machinists. We've talked to all the other unions that sponsored the conference. We're getting positive reactions from them all.

We've got a core of active people here in this room that can do almost anything—that helped to put together that Pittsburgh conference.

We've got a lot of momentum. We've got a great big antinuclear movement out there that's waiting for something to do.

March 28 is the time to bring it all together—for a march for safe energy and for jobs.

N.J. residents fight to ban uranium mining

By Steve Patt

NEWARK—A campaign to ban uranium mining and milling in the state of New Jersey moved into high gear as more than 200 people jammed a public hearing of the State Senate Energy and Environment Committee January 20.

Speaker after speaker demanded a total ban and denounced efforts by the state legislature to find a "compromise" by "regulating" uranium mining.

After the hearing, the committee voted, January 29, to halt uranium mining in the state for seven years and to require the State Department of Environmental Protection to study health dangers and decide whether it should ever be permitted.

Both houses of the state legislature still have to vote on the bill, which stops short of a permanent ban.

Exxon and Sohio began quietly exploring for uranium in northwestern New Jersey in 1977. In July 1980, local residents and antinuclear activists of the Safe Energy Alternatives Alliance (SEA) became aware of what the oil giants were up to, and began a campaign to stop them.

Within six months uranium mining had been banned in five New Jersey communities, and seven other towns had passed strong resolutions against it.

Over 15,000 people signed a petition calling for a statewide ban.

The hearing provided a five-hour education on the dangers of uranium mining and milling.

Mining releases radioactive radon gas into the air and radium into the

groundwater, producing epidemic rates of lung cancer among miners and birth defects and other radiation-induced diseases in the surrounding communities, according to several experts in the field who testified.

The headwaters of New Jersey's five major rivers are all within miles of the proposed mining area, as are reservoirs for Newark, Jersey City, and other urban areas.

Even uranium exploration poses a threat of radioactive contamination of the groundwater.

Uranium mining also uses large quantities of water, up to 4,000 gallons per minute per mine. Many speakers noted the irony of discussing such a proposal in the midst of a major drought.

The processing or milling of uranium poses dangers as well. More than 99.8 percent of the original ore, containing 85 percent of the original radioactivity, remains after uranium has been extracted.

These "tailings" are typically piled up, where they are subject to erosion by wind and water, resulting in further exposure of the surrounding population to radiation and its associated illnesses.

Speakers at the hearing included representatives of antinuclear groups, the Public Interest Research Group, the National Organization for Women of New Jersey, a number of peace groups, the Morris County Medical Association, and the Morris County Public Health Association.

The oil giants, however, were unable to send a single person to the hearings to testify in behalf of uranium mining.

Army hid dumping of atomic wastes in NY

More than thirty-seven million gallons of radioactive wastes from the Manhattan Project, which manufactured atomic bombs during World War II, were dumped in shallow wells at Tonawanda, New York, near Buffalo, between 1944 and 1946. The dumpers were the United States Army and a defense contractor, Linde Air Products Company.

They carefully chose a disposal method that would hide the source of the contamination, according to a New York State toxic waste task force report released January 31.

Included in the appendix of the report is a letter dated March 29, 1944, written by a superintendent of the defense contractor to the Tonawanda-area Army engineer. It concerns disposal of liquid caustic wastes contaminated by radiation.

He cited two possible options, according to the February 1 *New York Times*. The first was to discharge the waste into a storm sewer which flowed into Two Mile Creek and, eventually, into the Niagara River; the second, to "dis-

charge this material into a well on our Tonawanda factory property," whose water, he said, was already unfit for drinking.

The Linde official concluded:

"Plan 1 is objectionable because of probable future complications in the event of claims of contamination against us. Plan 2 is favored because our law department advises that it is considered impossible to determine the course of subterranean streams, and therefore, the responsibility for contamination could not be fixed."

As to be expected, the Army has consistently denied any involvement in the dumping.

* * *

Indian Point nuclear power plant number three, thirty-five miles north of New York City, was shut down January 31 because of a malfunction in the plant's steam turbine section.

No radioactivity was released, according to a New York State official.

Now all three power plants at Indian Point are shut down.

Let's keep it that way.

No more Three Mile Islands!



Demonstrate March 28 in Harrisburg

To demand:

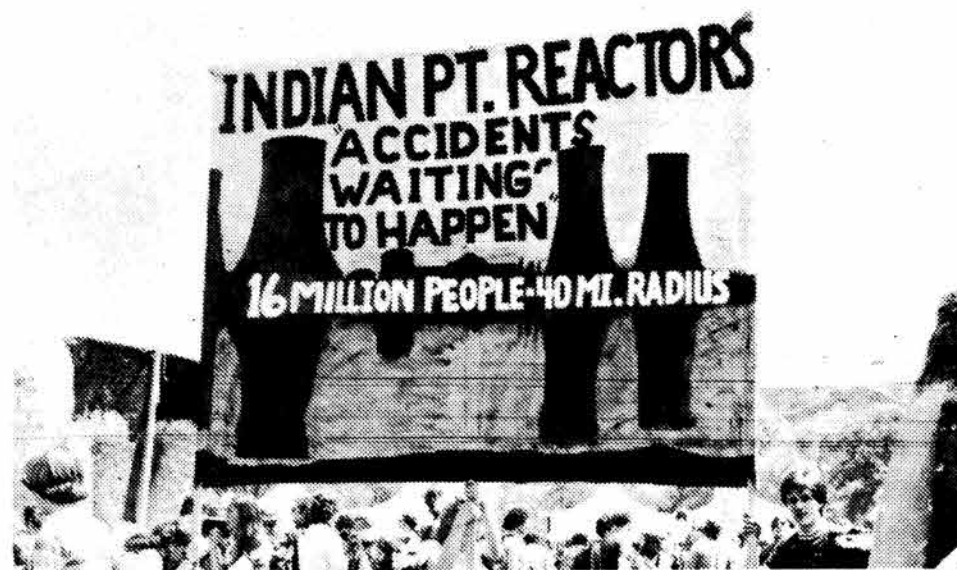
- No more Three Mile Islands! Keep Unit 1 closed! No dumping of radioactive water in the Susquehanna River!
- Support the United Mine Workers of America in their effort to gain a decent contract!
- Jobs for all: a shorter workweek and massive public works program!
- Guaranteed alternative jobs for nuclear workers at union rates!

Initial co-sponsors:

United Mine Workers
International Association of Machinists
United Furniture Workers
International Chemical Workers

United Auto Workers
Critical Mass
Mobilization for Survival
SANE
United States Students Association

For more information: Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1536 16 St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Call (202) 265-7190.



Big business hails 'breakthrough'

Chrysler wage cuts: threat to all workers

By Vivian Sahner

"It's no good to settle with one [company] and to push the problems on to another. The UAW [United Auto Workers Union] recognizes this. . . . The pattern is set and Chrysler will show the way."

Another bankrupt company asking for a hand-out? Hardly.

That's how General Motors Chairman Roger Smith reacted to the announcement that the UAW leadership had agreed to a \$622 million cut in wages and benefits for workers at Chrysler.

According to the January 14 *Wall Street Journal*, analysts expect GM to make \$1 billion in profits this year. But it wants more. GM wants to rip into the UAW contract too.

Ford Motor Company is fast on GM's heels.

The U.S. Chrysler Loan Guarantee Board, a government body, approved an additional \$400 million in loans to the ailing company provided the union accepted the cuts.

This successful assault on one of the strongest industrial unions in the country has been hailed in one big-business newspaper after another.

"The Chrysler agreement may be the big breakthrough of the 1980's," says Melvin Reder, professor of urban and labor economics at the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business. "We'll have a good deal of conflict in the next few years but wage adjustments are coming."

Reder is quoted in a January 25 *New York Times* article. It goes on to explain that capitalist economists "have long been troubled by what they call 'the stickiness' of wages. . . . That is, wages have not fallen, mainly because of union contracts, during times of rising unemployment."

Other cutbacks

Other cutbacks listed by the *Times* include:

- Uniroyal—6,000 members of the United Rubber Workers accepted wage and benefit concessions worth \$9.9 million, a 13 percent reduction.

- Firestone—1,450 employees at the Memphis, Tennessee, plant agreed to work Saturday and Sunday shifts with no premium pay.

- Conrail—The United Transportation Union accepted a cut in crew sizes and other changes in work rules.

These companies have argued, just like Chrysler, that the cutbacks will save jobs. But the record at Chrysler shows that cutbacks and layoffs go hand in hand.

In November 1979, for the first time in their forty-two-year history, Chrysler workers settled for a contract not equivalent to those with Ford and GM. They gave up more than \$400 million in wages and benefits.

In January 1980, the contract was reopened. Another \$200 million in wages was cut, along with seventeen paid personal holidays.

Then—like now—the real choice wasn't lower wages or layoffs. First came the pay cuts, and then the pink slips.

In November 1979, there were 130,000 Chrysler workers. Today there are 65,000 at work and 45,000 laid off indefinitely.

For thousands of these workers all benefits—state unemployment benefits, Chrysler supplemental un-

employment payments, and federal trade readjustment funds—have been exhausted.

The new concessions offer only more of the same. Growing numbers of Chrysler workers realize this, as the 41 percent vote against the deal showed.

'Reindustrialization' plans

These are the grim prospects offered to working people when big business talks about "reindustrialization." U.S. corporations want to regain their competitive edge by cutting costs—and that means cutting jobs, not saving them.

"Reindustrialization" plans include shutting down plants like Dodge Main, Ford Mahwah, and many others.

It means increased use of automation. GM says that over the next ten years it plans to expand its use of robots from the current 300 to 14,000.

It means more deals with the government to let pollution and safety standards slide. The Environmental Protection Agency has waived tougher carbon-monoxide and nitrogen-oxide emission stand-



'Saving' Chrysler has cost thousands of auto workers their jobs. Now GM and Ford want similar concessions.

ards on many models until 1983, citing concern for the auto industry's financial health.

Ford, famous for the Pinto fireballs, was excused from recalling 16 million cars and trucks with transmissions that have already caused 6,000 accidents resulting in 1,710 injuries, and 98 deaths.

The National Highway Safety Administration, concerned more about saving Ford money than protecting human lives, is allowing the company to mail warning stickers to its customers instead of making repairs.

For the workers in this country it all adds up to a worsening standard of living with fewer jobs at lower wages.

Unfortunately, it's the only road the leadership of the UAW has promoted. The purpose for putting

UAW President Douglas Fraser on the Chrysler Board of Directors was to convince union members that their fate is linked with the company's.

"Chrysler can only receive the money it needs to keep from collapsing if UAW-Chrysler workers vote in favor of the tentative agreement," wrote the UAW leadership to union members on January 19.

Vote yes, they urged. "Only you and your family can make this decision between accepting the additional sacrifices or losing your job and endangering pension and health benefits for retirees."

Some choice.

Not once has the union leadership pointed out the fraud of the auto makers' "Buy American" campaign. Along with plants in Europe and South America, General Motors owns 34 percent of the Japanese auto firm Isuzu. Ford owns 25 percent of Toyo Kogyo, the company that produces Mazdas.

They build plants anywhere in the world where lower wages and fewer unions allow them to make higher profits—while using the import "threat" to try to worsen conditions here.

While Chrysler was busy flag-waving and advertising the K-car as the only compact with room for six Americans, the UAW bureaucrats were passing resolutions banning imports from union local parking lots. Union brothers and sisters who drive Toyotas—not the auto companies or the government—are castigated by the UAW leaders as the cause of unemployment.

The "Buy American" campaign is a trick. Laid-off Chrysler workers are supposed to shake their fists at Toyota, and the rest of us are supposed to fork over more money to buy a car stamped U.S.A.

Fraser claims that down the road auto workers will get "the chance to fight another day." But the cutbacks mean more than just fewer and harder jobs. The entire union is left weakened and demoralized. The time to fight is now, not later.

The situation at Chrysler is similar to that faced by thousands of steelworkers, rail workers, and other unionists.

How can it be turned around?

The first step is to decide who is on our side and who isn't.

The auto companies have never been team players with the UAW. They always cry poverty at contract time. They never hesitate to toss workers out on the streets in a slowdown. Each day, on the shop floor, management tries to chip away at the contract agreement.

On the other side stands the UAW and most of the people in this country, the working class.

We need our unions to support each other when there is a strike.

Instead of forced overtime, we need to demand a shorter workweek, with no cut in pay, to make work available to all. This demand, often called 30 for 40, was a regular feature of the United Auto Workers' program before World War II. This idea has been discussed at every UAW convention. Today it is needed more than ever.

If Chrysler sinks

If Chrysler sinks as a corporation, it's a loss for the rich stockholders and banks. It doesn't have to be a loss for the rest of us. The plants would still be there. The machinery could still be used.

Instead of squandering taxpayers' money on a losing proposition, Chrysler plants should be publicly owned. They could then begin producing the kind of automobiles and other transportation equipment we need.

Reorganization could be managed by an elected board with meetings and records open for public inspection. Working people could keep a close eye on its operations by demanding that board decisions be fully aired and accounted for.

The best guarantee that Chrysler would be run in the public interest would be to entrust control over its day-to-day operations to the auto workers themselves. Line speeds could be slowed down so that each job could be done completely. Damaged supplies could be weeded out and not used.

But which one of the Democrats or Republicans in Congress today would put forward this solution?

Not one. Consistently the Congress passes laws that benefit big companies at our expense, laws that limit the right to strike or rule out wage increases.

We need a turnabout by the union movement. Instead of relying on the companies' government, we should map out a strategy of independent political action for labor.

We should form a labor party, based on the unions, and fight for a government that reflects the needs of the majority of people in this country—the working class.

Pete Kelly: 'need to think about labor party'

On January 18, Pete Kelly, trustee of United Auto Workers Local 160, spoke at the Detroit Militant Forum on "Chrysler Blackmail: Does giving in save jobs?" Also speaking was Joe Allor of the Socialist Workers Party.

Kelly and Allor denounced the new round of contract concessions pointing out that—instead of saving jobs—they would erode the union's ability to fight future attacks on auto workers.

During the discussion Kelly also addressed the question of labor political action. Below are excerpts from his remarks.

First of all, everybody is waiting to see what Reagan is going to do. I would imagine that 60 percent of my local voted for Reagan. It was for a change; they thought anything had to be better than what's been happening.

And Reagan's economic policies will fall flat, just like Thatcher's in England, and what's going on in Israel, where they have 131 percent inflation.

In the short term, hopefully we can turn back some of these attacks, but also we have to think about the long term. We need to build a conscious working class. . . . I think we have to start think-

ing about a labor party.

You have to get down to the basics. I think we have to form committees in local unions where we have progressive-thinking members. Put out a leaflet asking: "Are you tired of the Democratic and Republican politics? Would you favor a labor party that would represent the interests of working people?"

You might only get two or three people that might come to that kind of meeting, but you'll start off in that local having a committee that's working for a labor party.

We've raised the question of a labor party on the convention floor. We've raised the question in our unions, and today there's not the same rejection.

People see the bankruptcy of the Democrats. They see the bankruptcy of UAW members embracing the policies and putting their future in the Democratic Party.

We have a lot of questions that are confronting us. In the near term we should call for a [UAW] constitutional convention, fight for jobs, run labor for elections. These are all things that can be taken up in the near future.

But we have to think about where are we going . . . there are only two sides.

Can Poland afford shorter workweek?

Workers demand voice in economy

On January 31, the Polish government again backed down in the face of massive struggles by the workers and farmers. The Polish government and the independent trade union Solidarity signed an agreement that was described by union spokesman Karol Modzelewski as "an initial stage in the fulfillment of the Gdansk agreement."

As a result of the government's concessions, the union agreed to call off a one-hour general strike that had been scheduled for February 3.

The government agreed to give workers three Saturdays a month off during 1981 instead of only two. It was agreed that a five-day forty-hour workweek will be established in 1982.

This agreement shows that the government is finding it impossible to impose major economic decisions without consulting the union.

The government also backed down from a threat to dock workers' pay for the massive January 24 walkout. So far Polish workers have been paid for strike days.

The government conceded the right of the union to publish its own weekly newspaper. Solidarity is also to have access at regular intervals to radio and television.

Still unresolved was the question of recognition of Rural Solidarity, the union of working farmers.

The government sent a delegation to negotiate with farmers staging a sit-in at the headquarters of the defunct government-run union in the southern Polish city of Rzeszow. Negotiations were broadcast over a public address system to hundreds who listened on the streets.

The Supreme Court is scheduled to rule February 10 on the farmers' application for a union charter.

The new union is stepping up support to the farmers. Solidarity leader Lech Walesa declared that the general strike could be rescheduled "if there is any attack on us or on farmers."

Solidarity announced that it "will conduct a propaganda campaign with articles, posters, meetings, etc," supporting the farmers. It called the farmers' demand for recognition the union's "own cause" and proposed actions on February 10 to support them.

The following article, written before the settlement, discusses the stakes in the Polish workers' fight around the shorter workweek.

While the capitalist rulers are busy trying to drive back the gains of the labor movement all over the world, including in the area of shorter hours, they have not hesitated to try to take advantage of the situation in Poland to try to score some propaganda points and sow confusion in the working class.

For example, Karl E. Meyer wrote in regard to the struggle in Poland in the January 15 *New York Times*:

"Marx would not be amused. Nothing, he insisted, was more characteristic of capitalist exploitation than 'the unlimited and reckless extension of the working day.' He scoured English manufacturers for operating a gigantic 'workhouse' 12 hours a day, six days a week. He promised salvation, and the eight-hour day, only when the proletariat finally owned the factories. Tell that to the workers of Gdansk."

This doesn't prevent Meyer from agreeing with the Polish bureaucrats on the issue at hand. The workers, Meyer notes, "are being told that after 35 years Polish Communism cannot afford a five-day week. Given its wretched performance, the final irony may be that the managers are right."

Objective problems

The Polish government points to real objective economic problems when it argues that Poland cannot afford a shorter workweek. Inflation in the capitalist world has driven up the costs of oil and other imports skyhigh. The global capitalist recession has in the meantime shrunk demand for Poland's exports.

Since the bureaucrats had based their economic plans on the continuation of capitalist prosperity in keeping with their reformist political orientation, Poland has found itself owing massive debts to the imperialist banks.

Poland now has to use 92 percent of its export earnings just to pay the principal and interest on its debts!

The Polish government claims that in the light of these conditions the only solution is austerity and long working hours. As one official told the Associated Press last summer, "There's only so much beer in a barrel. All we can add is just foam."

What government leaves out

However, there is another side to the economic picture that is left out by the Polish government's line.

Poland is one of the world's major industrial countries. The productivity of labor in Poland is just a shade below that in Italy.

Between 1970 and 1978, Polish workers increased the amount produced in industry 118 percent, compared to 36 percent in the United States, 34 per-

cent in Japan, and 66 percent in the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, Poland is a major agricultural exporter, and is rich in natural resources such as coal.

The truth is that the problem facing Poland is not primarily economic at all. It is political.

Poland's working people have been systematically excluded from having any voice in making basic economic and political decisions. But a planned economy requires the active control of producers and consumers at every level if it is to run properly.

No central planning commission or political leadership, no matter how brilliant, can possibly know all the facts about a complex economy, or anticipate all its needs. That is why workers democracy is essential if the planned economy is to function effectively.

However, the Polish government has repeatedly proven incapable of instituting a system of workers democracy because it represents a privileged bureaucratic caste.

If the working masses were to take control, they would quickly eliminate the high salaries of the bureaucrats, their access to special stores, special medical care, special vacation spots, luxury housing, and other privileges.

It is this fundamental social problem that is behind the tension in Poland, and that led to the massive workers' protests of 1956, 1970, and 1976, as well as to the current struggle.

Workers show the way

It is the demands and the actions of the workers themselves that show the way out of the crisis facing Poland.

First of all, secret dealings behind the backs of the workers and farmers have to be abolished. Everything must be out in the open, from the real economic statistics to the discussions on economic policy.

Jean-Yves Tournais described this workers democracy in action during the negotiations in the August 1980 strike.

"The discussion takes place in a small room in the MKS [Interfactory Strike Committee] headquarters. The reporters can take pictures through the big glass partition, while the delegates follow the discussion, which is piped out into the other room and throughout the shipyard." (*Intercontinental Press*, September 8, 1980, p. 912.)

The institutionalization of this kind of democracy would make it possible to avoid tremendous economic mistakes.

Lech Walesa gave an example of a prefabrication plant that is producing at 50 percent of capacity due to a lack of raw materials. Walesa pointed out, "The government decided to build another right next to it. It's absurd. The plant is useless. Maybe the Central Committee doesn't know that, but we workers see it everyday."

"The free trade union means control over economic decisions at every level, local, regional, and national. We need a new plan, and that's how we'll do it."

Freedom of expression

This kind of workers control cannot be achieved, however, as long as the government maintains a stifling censorship of the mass media. For this reason the workers demanded that freedom of expression in word and print be guaranteed.

At the same time, the workers realize the reason that the government resists these measures is that it is under the domination of a privileged caste of bureaucrats. Therefore, the workers demanded that these special privileges be abolished. The Gdansk strike committee demanded:

"Abolition of privileges for security services by granting equal family allow-

Continued on page 19

By William Gottlieb

Millions of Polish workers went on strike January 24 to demand that the government keep its earlier promises and introduce a five-day workweek.

Government officials have tried to paint the workers as irresponsible and greedy, out to get what they can regardless of the cost to the Polish economy.

At the same time, the regime refuses to give the workers' representatives adequate information about the economy and it refuses to acknowledge the right of the workers to have a say in basic economic decisions.

Demand information

As one leader of Solidarity, the independent union federation, put it: "If Solidarity gets information showing the entire seriousness of the economic situation, Solidarity may change its decision. Talks will be resumed."

Another Solidarity member explained: "Maybe it is necessary to work some Saturdays, but our position is that this should be decided at the local factory level. We are the ones who know best what the factory needs."

What is happening in Poland is of vital interest to the working class worldwide, and not least because of the issue of the shorter workweek that is being posed.

In the capitalist countries, many millions are unemployed as a result of the economic crisis. At the same time, workers are often forced to put in sixty, seventy, or more hours a week as a result of forced overtime. Steelworkers in Dallas, for example, were forced out on strike January 12 because of an eighty-hour workweek imposed on them by the bosses.

In the workers states, where capitalism has been abolished as a result of proletarian revolutions, the length of the workweek is also of vital importance. Few things affect the quality of life more than the length of the workweek, and shortening the workweek has been a historic goal of the labor and socialist movements.

Fight for eight-hour day

In fighting for a shorter workweek, the Polish workers are continuing a struggle begun by the working class more than a hundred years ago in Britain, the first industrial country.

Under pressure from the struggle waged by the labor movement, the British government was obliged to pass legislation setting a legal maximum to the hours of work. In more and

more branches of industry the workday was shortened first to twelve hours and then to ten hours.

In the 1880s, a huge movement swept North America and Europe for the eight-hour day. It was the U.S. trade unions that now took the lead.

On May 1, 1886, some 350,000 American workers—40,000 in Chicago alone—went out on strike. This mighty movement became the basis for the international working-class holiday of May Day.

Marx and Engels placed special emphasis on the movement for a shorter working day because they considered it the precondition for all further progress by the working class. As long as working people were forced to toil fourteen to eighteen hours a day, six days a week, the working class would never be able to improve itself. Only by winning a shorter workday could the basis be laid for further gains.

The capitalists predicted ruin and bankruptcy if the workweek was shortened. In fact, however, the shortening of the workweek was in the interest of everybody in society but a handful of capitalist exploiters.

It was a demand, raised by the working class, for the rational use of the advances made possible by science and technology in order to improve the quality of life for everybody. And as any worker knows, even without new machinery, a shorter workday results in fewer accidents, less waste, and a higher rate of productivity.



Polish workers are convinced they can solve production problems better than bureaucrats.

Sales drive to spread w

By Nancy Rosenstock

Linked directly to their historic suit against the federal government, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are launching a major drive to expand the circulation of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The trial of the government for illegal disruption of SWP and YSA activity opens in New York federal court March 16.

The circulation drive runs for eleven weeks, from February 14 till May 1.

The first month will be devoted to winning 3,000 new subscribers to the two publications.

The remaining seven weeks, which coincide with the probable schedule of the trial, will focus on extensive nationwide sales of individual copies.

Pretrial proceedings have uncovered a host of previously secret government documents detailing how such agencies as the FBI, CIA, and Immigration cops illegally worked to disrupt the SWP and YSA in a continuing attempt to curb the spread of our program and to interfere with our activity.

The political ideas which the government is working so strenuously to

suppress will be at the very heart of this trial. As revolutionary Marxists, we will utilize the forum the trial provides to explain these ideas in the fullest possible way.

Opportunity, obligation

This means that we have the obligation, as well as the opportunity, to reach the largest possible number of working people with the ideas that will be developed in the trial.

Through examination and cross examination, we will explain what Marxism really is—why it is the only program that represents the interest of the working class and offers the realistic road to peace, justice, and equality for all.

In reaching people with the ideas put forward in the trial, the role of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* is crucial. We will be carrying extensive coverage of the trial, including transcripts of testimony of both party and government witnesses.

It will make for absorbing reading because the trial will be, in effect, a head-on debate between capitalism and socialism.

We cannot expect the capitalist me-

dia to provide adequate, honest reporting of the issues in the trial.

In fact it will take strenuous efforts to break through, even partially, the curtain of silence they are trying to draw around the case.

For example, as illegal government spying was bared in the aftermath of Watergate, the federal response was: those things did happen in the past. But that was the old FBI, the old CIA. We don't do that anymore.

Yet recently, when the government presented its plan for the trial, it dropped this pretense and brazenly asserted its right to "investigate" any organization whose views it doesn't like—even if its activities are totally legal.

This startling admission by the government that it reserves the right to go after individuals and organizations solely on the basis of their ideas is obviously of signal importance.

All of the major media were informed of it. All of them gave it the silent treatment.

This underlines why widespread circulation of the *Militant* and *PM* is vital.

Securing the 3,000 new subscribers in the period before the trial opens will

guarantee more regular readers for our special trial coverage.

The right time

Fortunately, our need to expand our circulation comes at a moment when we have excellent opportunities to do so. There are growing movements against the draft and against nuclear power. A broad movement in solidarity with the revolution in El Salvador is developing rapidly.

In recent months we have seen the birth of the National Black Independent Political Party and widespread protests against racist violence.

The demonstration of 100,000 Black people in Washington on Martin Luther King's birthday, plus the thousands more who turned out in their own communities, demonstrate the readiness of working people to fight against Reagan's reactionary plans.

It also confirms the prospects for expanding the circulation of two publications that offer a program for fundamental social change. Not to speak of reporting news that you simply don't get anywhere else.

The *Militant* and *PM* will continue our unique coverage of the antidraft struggle and the Central American

By Harry Ring

The Martin Luther King demonstration in Washington January 15 was a profoundly important event.

One proof of its importance was the way the news media lied about it.

At least 100,000 people turned out. If you weren't there, talk to anyone who was.

It was the nation's biggest civil rights rally since the 1963 March on Washington, where Dr. King spoke.

Yet, with astonishing unanimity, the major media joined in presenting patently false reports of the turnout.

The *Washington Post*, which has the most readers in the area, gave the highest figure we've seen in the daily press—25,000.

The Associated Press, the New York *Daily News*, and the *Miami Herald* all said approximately 15,000.

The *New York Times*, which pats itself on the back for its objectivity, unashamedly used the same figure.

It was striking to hear an ABC-TV reporter say 10,000 even as the camera panned over a throng that filled the huge Washington Monument mall from front to back and side to side.

Why did the media lie?

Because they wanted to minimize the political impact of a mass demonstration that showed a lot of Black people are ready to fight for their rights.

Skipped the content

For the same reason, the media carefully glossed over the political content of the demonstration.

People came because they do want Dr. King's birthday declared a national holiday. They also came to register their anger about unemployment, inflation, racist violence, and the Reagan administration's threats to roll back civil rights.

But media reporting tried to give the impression it was simply a nonpolitical birthday observance.

The Washington turnout did little to bolster the media's constant refrain: that the country is moving to the right.

Black people know the rulers of this country are moving to the right, for sure. But the 100,000 Black people who poured into Washington—and the millions more in their communities whose sentiments they represented—are not.

This incessant propaganda is a product of the deepening, insoluble crisis of American and world capitalism.

The ruling rich see only one hope for survival of their system—to put the burden of the crisis onto the backs of working people, here and abroad.

And they know that massive, organized resistance by the working class spells the beginning of the end for them.

So they use their control of the major media in an unrelenting campaign to disorient and demobilize us.

And they do control the media. The major dailies, news chains and TV networks are big capitalist enterprises. Their profits come from corporate advertising.

They are part of—and speak for—the ruling rich. They're class-conscious and highly political.

War of nerves

That's why, in their war of nerves against the workers, every move by the right wing, no matter how small, is pounced on, and magnified, and distorted as portraying "majority" views.

For instance, measure the TV coverage a lone Nazi demonstrator got in Buffalo on January 15 against the passing mention of a Martin Luther King demonstration there of 3,000, including community, union, and civic groups.

That incident—one Nazi and the heavy TV exposure he enjoyed—illuminates how the present "resurgence" of the Nazis and KKK is a pure media hype.

True, the various Klan and Nazi sects can literally get away with murder. That was proven when the KKK-Nazi murderers in Greensboro, North Carolina, were acquitted in a whitewash trial.

But across the country, they represent a tiny, fragmented, and isolated force that is despised by a majority of working people—white as well as Black and Latino.

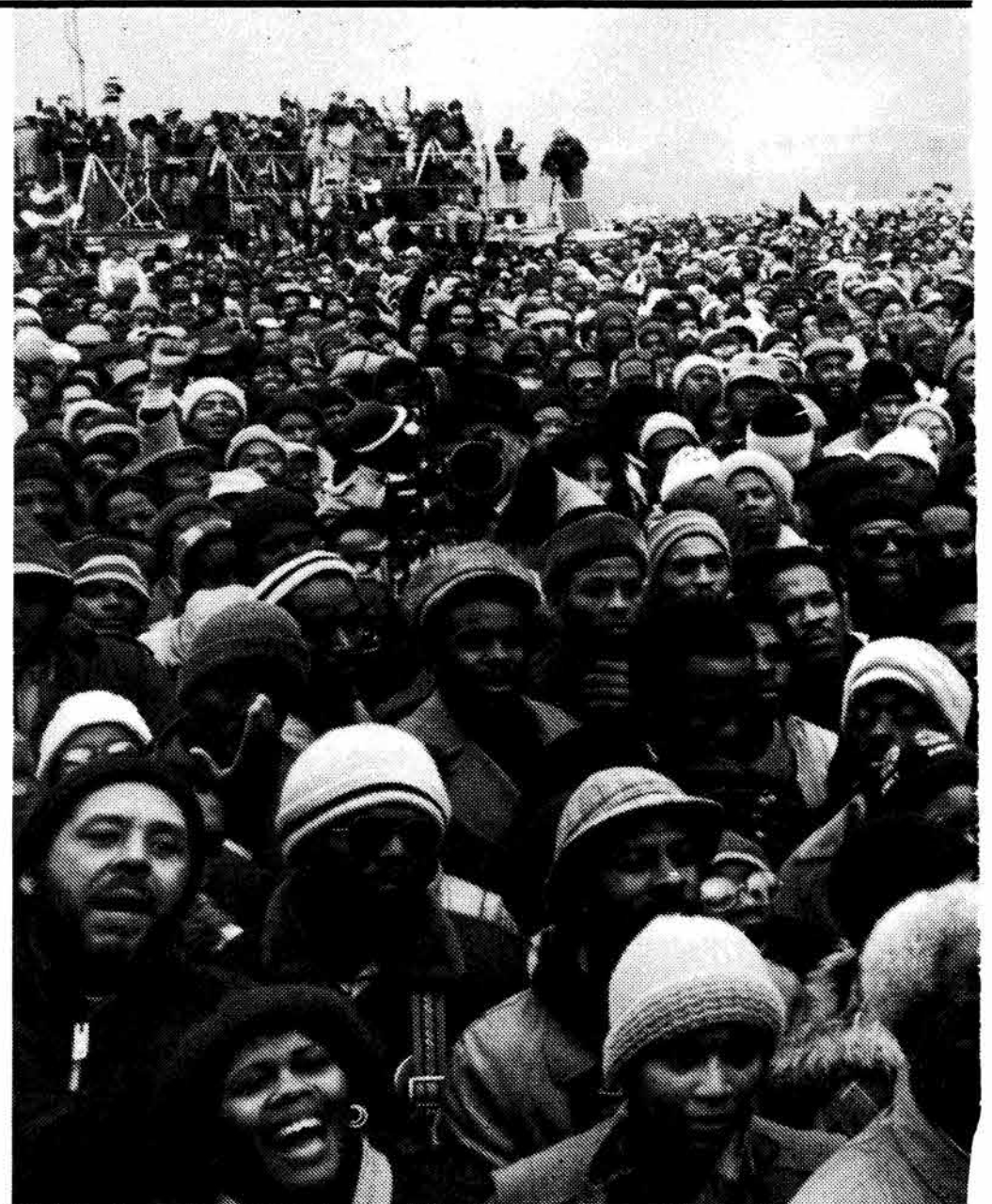
The media are just as selective about what they blot out as they are about what they plug.

Labor solidarity

For example, the West Coast Longshore union recently decided not to load weapons bound for the Salvadoran dictatorship. Their move was saluted by the International Association of Machinists.

Hardly a shift to the right. Did you read about it in your local daily?

In mid-January, 250 unionists, in-



Section of crowd of 100,000 that filled Washington Monument Mall on Martin Luther King

'15,000 p How the n

Word of socialist lawsuit

solidarity movement. When thousands of people gather in Harrisburg March for a labor-led demonstration against nuclear power, the *Militant* and *PM* will be there.

We will be providing coverage of the United Mine Workers fight for a new contract. And if, on March 27, the coal unions force them on strike, our publications can be relied on for the kind of coverage that you'll never get in the labor-hating commercial me-

Special role of 'PM'

Increasing the circulation of *Perspectiva Mundial* is particularly important. The February 2 announcement by Reagan's secretary of education that he intend to wipe out bilingual education indicates the scope of the drive waged against Latino rights in this country. That drive will also increase activity to a fighting socialist publication like *PM*.

Activists in the Central American solidarity movement will be especially interested in getting both *PM* and the *Militant*. Our coverage of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba, Grenada, cannot be matched by any other U.S. publication. In cities across the country, the SWP

will be campaigning for mayor and other local offices. These campaigns, too, will help us gain new readers.

Renew subscriptions

Another important part of the sales drive is to visit people who took trial subscriptions during our last campaign. Many of these readers will want to renew their subscriptions and a visit to their homes will help facilitate this.

And, as the last circulation drive confirmed, setting up sales tables on college campuses can be a rewarding source of subscriptions and individual copy sales.

For the duration of the circulation drive, Saturday will be an important day. Saturday morning has traditionally proven the best time to get teams of sales people out into the community, at shopping centers and other busy areas, as well as visiting people door-to-door.

Many areas will want to conduct regional sales, with teams going to nearby industrial centers or campuses. Often such teams can capitalize on work previously done.

For instance, Cleveland has already mapped plans to send weekend teams to Buffalo, where, as the result of

recent activity, several people have expressed interest in joining the YSA.

The circulation drive for the *Militant* and *PM* will be tied in with the campaign launched by the YSA to sell 4,000 copies of the *Young Socialist* from February through April. Joint sales committees should ensure the

effective integration of these efforts.

This circulation drive is the right campaign at the right time. We know that all SWP and YSA members will participate to the maximum. We urge other readers to do so as well. Clip the coupon below and we'll send the material immediately.

Order your sales kit today!

Take a regular bundle and subscription kit to sell where you work, go to school, or live. Join other readers in the spring circulation campaign!

☐ Send me the subscription seller's kit (includes sample copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, subscription blanks, and copies of the brochure "Secret Police on Trial.")

☐ I want a weekly *Militant* bundle of _____ copies. (Cost to you is 55 cents each. You will be billed at the end of the month.)

☐ I want a biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial* bundle of _____ copies. (Cost to you is 55 cents per copy.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Send to: Militant Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



day.

Militant/Osborne Hart

people'? media lie

cluding leaders of the powerful United Mine Workers, held a conference in Harrisburg—site of Three Mile Island—and called for a national antinuclear demonstration in that city on March 28.

Labor taking the lead in the fight against nuclear power is a newsworthy event. It hardly suggests that labor is "moving to the right."

It also got zero mention in the national media.

Or how about the discussion that is spreading through major sections of the union movement about forming an independent labor party? If your only source was the daily press, you would never know it was happening.

Last spring, Chicago firefighters, mainly older white men, waged a militant strike against the city administration. They won a union agreement. Mayor Jane Byrne had vowed she would never grant.

The union won that battle because it sought, and got, the support of Chicago's Black community.

Yet both Chicago dailies—and at least several national publications—reported that the union had been defeated and that Black community leader Jesse Jackson, who proved an important ally of the union, had in fact sold it out.

Bad example

It's not surprising that the employer press lied about that one. After all, it didn't fit several of their choicest stereotypes.

First, the strike proved that municipal workers can win broad public support in a fight against city hall—and win.

Second, their outreach to the Black community countered the false image of white workers as knuckleheaded racists.

The lies about the turnout for King Day in Washington are intended to bolster the other side of the thesis—that Black people are demoralized, isolated, and powerless.

That lie was aimed especially at activists like those now laying the foundations of the National Black Independent Political Party. The party's founding, at a convention of 1,500 in Philadelphia last November, was another media non-event.

For the cadres of the new party, the outpouring in Washington January 15 should be a great inspiration. It demonstrates the reception that a militant organization fighting for Black rights can win.

The show of strength by the Black community on King Day is also good news for the coal miners facing a contract battle . . . for antidraft and antiwar activists . . . for women's rights fighters . . . for labor party advocates.

Anyone who wants to fight back against the rulers' offensive could draw confidence from seeing this section of the working class marching in the streets again.

That's exactly why, as far as the "news" editors were concerned, the massive turnout simply didn't happen.

Who's out of step?

Today, more than ever, we must do everything we can to expose the capitalist media's lies about what's happening in this country and around the world. The propaganda is so all-pervasive that even the most conscious workers are affected by it.

People think, well, I know I'm not moving to the right. If anything, I'm going the other way. I don't want deregulated fuel prices, more nuclear plants, less social services, an unleashed FBI and CIA, a draft and maybe a war.

But if even part of what I read in the papers or see on TV is true, I must be out of step.

Today there is no better antidote than the *Militant*—the one paper that draws together what's really happening.

Despite our small resources, we get out more of the political truth about events in this country and the world than all the giant capitalist media combined.

We have to reach those untold thousands of working people who see the need to fight back, but think they're out of step.

Reach enough of them, and there will be lots of us *in* step, marching together.

Why did the capitalist media lie about those 100,000 demonstrators in Washington? Because they know it's a sign of bigger things to come.

North Carolina Black party holds state meeting

By Johanna Ryan

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—Two hundred-fifty Black activists crowded into the Goler Memorial AME Church here January 17 to found the North Carolina chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). They included delegates from across the state as well as representatives of the new Black party from South Carolina and Virginia.

Many of those present had gone to Washington, D.C., two days earlier for the mass rally in honor of Martin Luther King's birthday.

They gave an enthusiastic welcome to Rev. Ben Chavis, a native North Carolinian and one of the defendants in the Wilmington Ten frame-up trial. Chavis was on the platform at the D.C. King Day rally and is one of the founders of the NBIPP.

"This week we had 100,000 folks march on D.C.," Chavis told the crowd. "And a lot of the organizers of that action were also organizers of the National Black Independent Political Party."

At a press conference opening the meeting, North Carolina party coordinator Barbara Arnwine charged the

Democrats and Republicans with "failure, utter neglect, and total inability to deal with the needs of the Black community."

Black people, she said, had to rid themselves of the idea that simply electing individual Blacks to office could solve their problems.

"We now have hundreds, thousands more Black elected officials than we did in 1960," she stated, "and our conditions have worsened."

Andrew Lee White of Virginia, the NBIPP Southern regional coordinator, agreed. "The most important word [in the party's title] is independent," he stressed.

Also expressing disillusionment with the two-party system was a Democratic elected official, Winston-Salem Alderman Larry Little. He spoke of having to fight members of his own party over passage of a fair housing bill recently, and declared that his experience had shown him "no substantive difference" between the Democrats and the Republicans.

"Traditionally, third parties have formed in an election year, they have run candidates, and then they have disintegrated," noted Barbara Arnwine. But she said the NBIPP wants to



BEN CHAVIS

be more than just an electoral machine.

"We intend to be the largest, most activist Black organization in the state of North Carolina," she stated.

The party conference gave ample evidence that the delegates were getting down to business to reach that ambitious goal.

They focused attention on three areas: electoral action, independent Black institutions, and community organizing. A key part of the latter was the idea of an "Action Alert System" to mobilize Blacks and get out the truth about political issues facing the community.

"If something like the Wilmington 10 comes down again, we want to be organized so 90 percent of Black people in this state are responding," noted Arnwine.

Resolutions were passed in support of the survival of independent Black colleges and against the dismantling of Black studies programs at schools throughout the state.

The delegates also voted to urge the National Black Independent Political Party to call a march on Washington in the spring or summer to protest cutbacks in social services. They recommended that the party take the initiative in forming a coalition for the march that could draw in labor, women's groups, and all others affected by the cuts.

Those interested in joining the North Carolina chapter of the NBIPP can contact Barbara Arnwine at (919) 832-2046.

Black paper urges break with Democratic Party

The following editorial appeared in the January 2 edition of the Black newspaper 'Philadelphia Tribune' under the headline: 'New political direction needed.'

Philadelphia Tribune

That Blacks have become the most consistent supporters of the Democratic Party (not to mention progressive politics generally) can no longer be contradicted. While blue collar whites, Jews and other members of the so-called "New Deal" coalition have been defecting en masse, Blacks gave nearly 90% of their votes once more to the Democrats.

And while others have been so befuddled and disoriented by the Reagan victory that they have been reduced to parroting "me-too" to virtually every harebrained GOP proposal, Black voters remained true to progressive politics by not only returning such sterling stalwarts as Congressmen Ronald V. Dellums, John Conyers, Parren Mitchell, et. al. to Washington but also sending veteran fighters like George Crockett of Detroit, Gus Savage and Harold Washington of Chicago, and Mervyn Dymally of Los Angeles to join them at the battlefront.

Rev. Joseph Lowery of SCLC has spoken often of Blacks being the savior of the nation. There are those who may dispute this but none can question that Blacks in pursuing issues of moment to the Black community—comprehensive, federally funded health care, curbing plant closings, pushing for full employment—have helped the entire nation.

That is why recent press reports about the selection of the next chairman of the Democratic National Committee have been so disturbing to many. For apparently what is happening is that Vice President Walter Mondale, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill and AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland have been huddling in smoke-filled rooms behind closed doors to select the next chairman of the powerful Democratic National Committee. According to the *New York Times*, this U.S.-style "Gang of Four" are "trying to agree among themselves on who should" lead the political party that Blacks have given blood, sweat, tears—and millions of votes.

The question is: Why isn't Benjamin Hooks or Coretta Scott King or Andrew Young or Rev. Jesse L. Jackson in on these sessions? Why is a Lane Kirkland admitted to the inner sanctum? By his own account he couldn't deliver his own constituency to the Democrats as more than half of blue collar whites opted for Reagan. Moreover, his virulently anti-communist foreign policy (he has given thousands to Polish workers and peanuts to Black South African workers), his passivity on the ques-

tion of organizing the unorganized and supporting Dellums' Health Bill, constitutes the very kind of disastrous "me-too" policies that are destined to make the Democrats extinct as the Whig Party.

It is becoming increasingly clear that Black voting support of the Democrats does not carry with it a commensurate amount of political clout—and such a development comes at a particularly bad time given the parlous state of the Black economic condition. For it is well known nowadays that politics has a decisive impact on economics.

Andrew Brimmer, the Black economist and former federal reserve Board governor, estimates that total revenues earned by Black business as a percentage of gross national product will decline this year to 0.44 percent, down from an estimated 0.46 percent in 1979, continuing a trend set in the 1970's.

Black unemployment continues to spiral, helped along by the rash of plant closings in urban centers like Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Detroit, etc. A recent study by the Illinois advisory committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission found that "racial minorities" suffer most from shutdowns and relocations. Indeed, the fact of a labor force becoming increasingly Black has played a role in companies' decisions to relocate, according to this study. In Illinois companies moving from central cities to suburbs in the late 70's, employment of Blacks dropped by almost 25%.

In countries like France there are severe restrictions on the ability of employers to bolt suddenly from a community, leaving disarray, poverty and unemployment in its wake. Obviously, similar legislation is required here but it won't come as long as both Democrats and Republicans are echoing the current "party line" that there must be reliance in the first place on the so-called "private sector" if the economic crisis is to be eased. As the Illinois study and numerous others have demonstrated, it is the unbridled power of the private sector that has led inexorably to the present crisis. Gregory D. Squires of the Midwestern regional office of the Civil Rights Commission has called for more creative use of the public sector and, increasingly, his voice has been joined by others.

The Black community, well aware that there is more Black representation in the legislatures and city halls that control the public sector than the Board of Directors and shareholders that control the private sector, has been in the forefront on this issue.

Unfortunately, some Blacks seeking to escape from the smothering embrace of the Democrats have leaped into the none too tender arms of the GOP. Columnist Alfreda Madison has described what she calls Senator Strom Thurmond's "Black Kitchen Cabinet," consisting of Ralph Abernathy, Hosea Williams, Charles Evers, George Haley (Alex's brother), Arthur Fletcher, et. al. Note that this is the same Strom Thurmond who has called

for a repeal of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (one of the most significant boosts for Black political power in this century), has campaigned vociferously against busing and has opposed affirmative action tooth and nail.

Clearly, history will not smile upon their quixotic, somewhat bizarre effort to curry favor with the GOP but the factor that motivated their quest—genuine dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party—cannot be blithely ignored.

Abernathy and Company correctly ask what are the Democrats doing about the critical issues. Not only those mentioned above but consider that since 1950 Black ownership of Southern farmland has dwindled from 12.5 million to 5.5 million acres; in South Carolina alone Blacks have lost during this period 38% of the acreage. What are the Democrats doing about the rise of the Klan, the mis-named Moral Majority and other pillars of the far right? The "Christian Voice," a conservative political action group akin to the Moral Majority has given "passing" grades on a "morality report card" to less than half the members of Congress. Many were "flunked" on the issue of support for federally financed abortions for poor women which the right sees as a question of "right to life". Yet they remain curiously silent on the issue of mass sterilizations of Black women or monetary support for the children that are brought into the world. But instead of raising such obvious, glaring contradictions, the Democrats try to accommodate them by, for example, naming one of the moral majority's "fellow-travellers," James Jones of Oklahoma, to a high House post over the liberal David Obey of Wisconsin.

So where does this leave us? A la Franklin D. Roosevelt, we should not be loathe to say "A plague on both your houses." The new Black Political Party born in Philadelphia must be examined. Progressive trade unionists e.g. John Henning, head of the California AFL-CIO and William Winpisinger, head of the one million strong International Association of Machinists (IAM) should not be allowed to pull out of the station on their proposed third party train without a sizable Black contingent on board. Folks revere the memory of W. E. B. DuBois, but how many remember that when he ran for public office (in New York's 1950 race for the U.S. Senate) it was not as a Democrat or Republican but on the American Labor Party ticket. How many remember that he was Honorary Chairman of the Progressive Party—the last formidable third-party effort, which was dashed to pieces by a "bi-partisan" GOP-Dems effort during the dark days of the Cold War.

If affirmative action is to be expanded, if Black economic health is to be improved, Black voters must cast to the winds old ideas and unflinchingly face the fact that a new political direction that takes account of economic reality is needed desperately.

10,000 show up hoping for steel jobs

By Jon Hillson
and Adrienne Kaplan

EAST CHICAGO, Ind.—The job seekers began gathering at 4 p.m. They were joined by others spending the night in cars and campers. Some braved near-zero weather in sleeping bags outside the personnel office of Inland Steel.

The next day, January 21, at 8:30 a.m., the company had announced, it would give out applications for work.

By 7 a.m., there were 7,000 people jammed up against building walls and the cyclone fence.

Company guards opened a new gate, and a small line rushed toward it. The move provoked a stampede.

"People were packed in like sardines in a can. The first thing I thought of was the Who concert [where eleven people were killed in 1979 in Cincinnati]," a Gary job seeker said. "People were knocked down and walked on."

The rush to the office door sparked fights between applicants. They panicked at the thought of losing the chance for an application—and a job.

"People just busted down the gate and climbed the fence. After they waited so long, they weren't going to let in somebody who just waited a few minutes," one applicant said.

Then, Inland's personnel officers tossed out fistfuls of applications to the crowd. The scramble got worse.

Two young men leaving the melee told what they saw.

"We had to get out of there," one said. "They had to pass the people who got hurt over the heads of the crowd to get them out. All of a sudden my buddy turned around and said, 'My God, there's somebody down here under-

Adrienne Kaplan is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1010.

Crowd of jobseekers surround Inland Steel office in East Chicago, Indiana. At least six were treated at hospitals. Company was not hiring, just updating applications.

An Inland worker: 'Company is sending us message: Don't complain, don't file grievances, 10,000 are waiting for your job. Put out or get out.'

Balanoff: 'People took their lives in their hands to get piece of paper worth nothing.'



neath us."

Initial reports noted at least six people were treated at a nearby hospital, including frostbitten job seekers who had camped out.

Several scalpers prowled the line, one getting thirty dollars for an application.

One penniless job seeker eased the tension of those around him, shouting at the scalper that he had no money but, "I'll give my first born." The crowd laughed.

After Inland's bosses hastily reorganized the distribution of applications, things moved more quickly. The lines became orderly again.

Personnel officers herded job hunters with military commands. "Up against the wall! Single file! One application to a person!"

By the end of the day, 8,000 people had gotten applications, the big majority of them young. Nearly half were Black and Latino, and as many as 2,000 were women.

But for only a handful of them, or of the more than 7,000 more who got applications the next two days, will the job search end at the sprawling mill.

The company was not hiring—just "updating" its list of applicants.

United Steelworkers District 31 Director James Balanoff nailed Inland for the January 21 turmoil. The company created "a false hope about jobs. . . . By announcing they were giving out applications, they told people they would be starting to hire.

"People were taking their lives in their hands to get a piece of paper that is worth nothing," said Balanoff, a

former worker at Inland and former president of USWA Local 1010 there.

What went on outside the personnel office was big news in the mill. "Inland treated people like dogs," a young worker said, sounding the general sentiment of union members.

Many workers felt the company had a political aim in seeking what it knew would be a massive turnout of job seekers.

"They want to send a message to us," an older Black man said. "Don't complain, don't file grievances. There's 10,000 people waiting for your job. Put out or get out."

Scenes like that will be repeated, an unemployed Black worker said. "It's going to get worse. There's a lot of people out of work. I'm out of work two years. I've got a wife and three kids."

Labor solidarity blocks company takebacks

Gary

By Jon Hillson

HAMMOND, Ind.—After 272 days on strike against the Northern Indiana Public Service Co. (NIPSCO), members of United Steelworkers Locals 12775 and 13796 voted overwhelmingly to accept a contract settlement.

The settlement fell far short of the energy monopoly's effort to squeeze crippling givebacks from the Steelworkers.

But it took the largest public utility strike in U.S. history to stop NIPSCO.

The outcome of the membership vote was announced here at a January 28 news conference by Fred Hershberger, president of physical workers Local 12775, and Jacque Becich, president of clerical workers Local 13796.

Nearly 80 percent of the 3,200 members of Local 12775 voted, favoring the contract by a margin of nine to one. The 1,000-member clerical local voted 769 to 6 for the agreement.

The unions were able to keep their uncapped cost-of-living adjustment clause (COLA), a \$.98 COLA roll-in, and all but a small portion of one of three COLA payments which came due during the strike.

The workers won full dental and eyeglass coverage, as well as four additional vacation days. The contract, dated June 1, 1980, when the old agreement expired, includes an 18 percent wage increase over its four-year life.

Both Hershberger and Becich noted that the Steelworkers were forced to make some concessions.

New restrictions on job-bidding rights for clerical workers have been imposed. There are worsened pension provisions; a meager increase in retirement benefits far below the rate of inflation; and the physical workers gave up some past gains on work rules. NIPSCO's demand to discharge se-



Plant-gate collection for NIPSCO strikers.

venteen strikers for picket-line misconduct was modified to a partial amnesty. Twelve of the workers are rehired (but face suspensions), with the future of the remaining five subject to arbitration.

"This was not a strike," Becich told the media, "but, in union language, a lockout. We didn't want it, they did. They forced it on us. But we stuck together."

"The unions are under attack," Hershberger said. "Big business has all the money. Look at what happened at Inland Steel [see accompanying article]. The company created that to put pressure on the unions. If you're not unionized, that's what you can expect. We need solidarity. All the unions have to stick together."

It was solidarity—from plant gate collections and rallies to the strike-family "adoption" program launched by District 31 Director James Balanoff—that helped strengthen the de-

termination of the two locals to stand up to NIPSCO.

The USWA's international strike fund sent \$6 million.

The unions' militant stand against the unpopular utility and their refusal to run from a tough fight won widespread public sympathy. Coupled with the increasing strain on the scab force of 2,000 supervisors, this put some cracks in the company's stonewall at the negotiating table.

The contract, Hershberger said, "is one we can walk back to work with, our heads held up. . . . A lot of unions helped us in our time. Now it's our turn to help them when they're under attack."

Dallas

By Linda Loew

DALLAS—Members of United Steelworkers 6282 voted January 24 to accept the company's revised contract offer, ending a two-week strike against Gardner-Denver's two oil and petroleum equipment producing plants here.

It's not often in "right to work for less" Texas that a strike is 100 percent solid. But not a single scab crossed the steelworkers' picket line in the entire two weeks.

Under the new contract all Sundays and holidays and at least one Saturday a month will be voluntary. No more than fifty-eight hours can be worked in one week.

This is a big improvement in the inhuman seventy-to-eighty-hour weeks many were forced to work before the strike.

The union also won an increase in major medical coverage and a dental program was established for the first time. Wage gains were modest.

The contract is weak compared to

Linda Loew is a member of United Steelworkers Local 6282.

those in areas of the country where unions are stronger. "Right to work" and other antilabor laws in Texas hamper union organizing and put restrictions on strike activity.

When Dallas transit workers walked out last fall, the law not only prohibited their strike, it said public employees cannot have a contract and cannot bargain with the city administration.

During the steelworkers' strike, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1338 invited some strikers to its meetings. They discussed the need to unite unions like the Steelworkers with city workers to defeat "right to work" in Texas and around the country.

Said Steelworkers Financial Secretary Bobby Johnson, "Next time the transit workers go out we have to be right there supporting them."

Johnson was part of a delegation that attended a meeting of aerospace Local 848 of the United Auto Workers.

Local 848 President Nova Howard stated in a support letter, "It is high time that we of labor walk shoulder to shoulder in solidarity to show these rich corporations that our movement is still strong enough to stave off their efforts of pushing us back to the early 20s."

Compromises were made in the Steelworker contract, but most workers saw it as a foot in the door against the company controlling our lives.

"A lot of us were not ready for this one. Now we believe in ourselves. We can shut them down, and we did shut them down," one worker said.

Another, Clemente Aguilar, told the *Militant*, "We could have done better, but we took a giant step forward. If we accepted the first offer it would have been three steps backward."

"The strike has brought unity to union members who didn't even know each other before. I made so many new friends walking the picket lines. And now we're united for the future."

H-Block movement protests brutality

British break promises to Irish prisoners

By Priscilla Schenk

In the last week of January the British government tried to go back on its promises to end the inhuman conditions imposed on the Irish nationalist prisoners in its jails in Northern Ireland.

The Irish political prisoners, confined in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh and the Armagh jail, have resisted a five-year British campaign to force them to accept criminal status. (See "Our Revolutionary Heritage" column, page 25.) And after a fifty-three-day hunger strike that ended December 18, the heroic fighters now face renewed harassment and abuse.

Before ending their hunger strike, the H-Block prisoners got the agreement of Humphrey Atkins, British Secretary for Northern Ireland, that their demands would be met. Atkins promised that the prisoners could wear their own clothes except during working hours. The right to wear civilian clothes is a central demand of the H-Block prisoners. They sit wrapped in blankets in their cells rather than wear the uniform of convicts.

Atkins also agreed that prison work could take the form of study, as the protesters demanded.

The H-Block prisoners then decided to test the agreement of the British authorities. Some of the concessions were upheld for a time. For example, the practice of serving the prisoners inedible food was ended.

However, the British officials continue to try to force the prisoners to wear convict uniforms and to do labor as criminal convicts. And they have

resumed their campaign of humiliation and brutal mistreatment.

On the weekend of January 24-25, the prison officials refused the prisoners the right to wear underwear and socks brought in by their families. This is an attempt to make a mockery of the demand for the right to wear their own clothes.

Also on January 24 a prison guard threw urine on a clean sheet and pillow that had been given to a prisoner in H-Block No. 6.

A prisoner in H-Block No. 3 was refused permission to use the toilet.

New rules were established prohibiting Irish-language books in the prison. Books in Irish have never been forbidden before.

In H-Block No. 5, forty-eight prisoners were beaten by the guards. Some reportedly suffered serious injuries, including a heart attack and a broken bone.

Forty-seven prisoners in H-Block No. 3 were moved to a wing previously used by prisoners forced to use the cells as toilets. The walls were covered with excrement.

A statement by the prisoners explained that "all forty-seven men were forced to remain in those cells throughout the night in complete darkness, naked, all but for a small hand-towel, and without blankets, mattresses, or any form of heating. All suffered from extreme cold."

The Belfast Republican Press Center warned that faced with this renewed brutality, a new hunger strike could begin immediately.

The prisoners issued a statement



Militant/Jean Vertheim
Bernadette Devlin McAliskey

declaring: "No matter what the British administration is saying publicly, a major attempt to finally break us, to break our spirit and resolve is now being made. We have come this far and there is no going back."

The British government has also resumed violent attacks on the movement supporting the Irish H-Block prisoners. On January 16 Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a national leader of the H-Block movement, and her husband were gunned down in their home

by Protestant assassins. They are now recovering.

Despite this attempt to silence the movement and the British government's refusal to honor the agreements with the nationalist prisoners, mass support for the H-Block prisoners is strong.

The National H-Block Committee held a conference in Dublin on January 25. The amphitheater in Liberty Hall was filled to overflowing by about 500 people.

Devlin McAliskey sent a message to the conference expressing her determination to carry the struggle forward.

Meanwhile the British government is stepping up its propaganda campaign to discredit the movement by labeling it as terrorist. This campaign escalated on January 21, when Sir Norman Stronge, a right-wing Protestant leader, and his son were killed by nationalist guerrillas.

The pro-British Belfast paper, the *Newsletter*, attempted to portray the killings of Stronge and his son as retaliation for the shooting of the McAliskies. The paper praised Stronge, who was the "Grand Master" of the Royal Black Institution, a powerful association of the Ku Klux Klan-like organization Orange Order. Presenting Stronge's death as retaliation for the McAliskey shootings encourages new attempts on Bernadette and her husband.

The H-Block movement proved the power of their mass campaign during the hunger strike. Now they are renewing and rebuilding the movement against British repression.

Rallies protest proposed ban on abortion

Pittsburgh

By Ginny Hildebrand

Three hundred people participated in an indoor rally at the downtown YWCA here January 23 to demand the defeat of the so-called Human Life Amendment and to show opposition to a Pennsylvania bill that will cut off state Medicaid funding for abortion.

The HLA attempts to prohibit safe and legal abortions. The right to abortion is already severely restricted by the Hyde Amendment, which bans Medicaid funds for abortions for poor women under most circumstances.

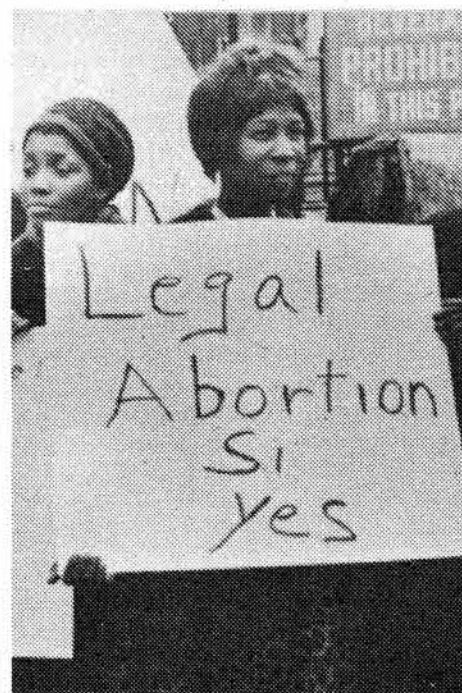
The proposed amendment outlaws not only abortions but also the most popular forms of birth control, such as the IUD and low-estrogen birth control pill.

The Pennsylvania anti-abortion bill, signed into law late last month by Gov. Richard Thornburgh, will bar state Medicaid funds for all abortions, except when the life of a pregnant woman is endangered or when the woman "promptly" reports that she is a victim of rape or incest.

This discriminatory measure will deny up to 10,000 poor women their constitutional right to choose safe, legal abortion.

The rally was the finale of Reproductive Freedom Month, which consisted of community and campus meetings, a service at a local Unitarian church, a meeting of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) on reproductive rights, radio talk shows, and leafletting brigades throughout the city on January 17.

Ninety-two people from nine National Organization for Women chapters came to a city-wide NOW meeting on January 13 to discuss the organization's national campaign for abortion rights, which includes canvassing neighborhoods with Stop HLA literature and petitioning.



At a January 7 press conference kicking off the month's activities, speakers blasted the attacks on abortion rights.

A statement to the conference by the Coalition of Labor Union Women said in part, "We recognize that the availability of contraceptives and the right to choose abortion have given women control over their lives that they never had before."

"We can decide for ourselves when to work or when to raise a family. Many more women have been able to enter the workforce where better health benefits and services have increased their job security."

"We will fight to maintain and improve these benefits; we will not be driven out."

San Francisco

By Linda Ray

Chanting and singing despite intermittent rain, 350 women's rights sup-

porters rallied at the federal building here at a noontime "counter-inauguration" January 20.

The action was initiated by the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women. Many attending were workers in the nearby government offices.

The rally drew attention to Reagan's stand against the Equal Rights Amendment, reproductive freedom, and affirmative action—rights that the majority of people support.

Chants like, "No draft, no war, no aid to El Salvador" also indicated the protesters' opposition to Washington's war moves.

Chris Welsh, a radio announcer from a local station, showed how far the \$8 million spent on Reagan's inauguration could go in decreasing the high infant mortality rate in this country.

Other speakers addressed the attacks on abortion rights, such as the Hyde Amendment and the Human Life Amendment. All speakers stressed the importance of becoming more organized to fight back against the increasing assaults on women's rights.

Winston-Salem

By Ann Johnson

"The Human Life Amendment would take us back to the conditions which existed before the 1973 Supreme Court decision, when women desperately sought help from unqualified back-alley practitioners or risked their lives in attempts at self-abortion," stated Donna Brown, president of the Winston-Salem chapter of NOW.

Brown spoke at a well-attended press conference of women's, religious, and civil rights organizations held here January 22 to commemorate the eighth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

All speakers voiced strong opposi-

tion to the latest attack on abortion rights, the Human Life Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Speakers stressed the importance of preserving individual freedom and civil rights. Kate Mewhinney from the National Abortion Rights Action League stated, "We join the clear majority of Americans who, according to polls, support a woman's right to choose abortion."

D.C.

By Elizabeth Lariscy

On inauguration day, ERA supporters, antidraft activists, and opponents of nuclear power lined Pennsylvania Avenue to bring their message to newly-elected President Ronald Reagan.

All along the parade route, hundreds waved ERA, YES! pennants and wore the large green and white buttons distributed by the National Organization for Women.

Even many Reagan supporters wore the ERA buttons, demonstrating that the election did not represent a move to the right by the American people on women's issues, but on the part of the government.

Newark

By Markie Wilson

Despite freezing weather, more than seventy-five people picketed the federal building here January 17 to protest the Human Life Amendment. The picket line was organized by the National Organization for Women.

New Jersey NOW also held a press conference January 21 and a lobby day on January 22.

In Santa Fe, New Mexico, 300 people rallied January 22 for abortion rights.

Reagan-Seaga visit signals threat to Grenada

By Harry Ring

When Reagan had Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga to the White House January 28, the *Christian Science Monitor* explained that the invitation was a way of saying, "We like what you're doing in support of free enterprise and what you're offering as an alternative to Cuba."

At the White House reception for Seaga, Reagan advised that he was concerned over "instability being inflicted" in the Caribbean by "outside" forces.

The people of the area, including the Jamaican people, have reason for concern about outside interference.

But the source of interference is not that hinted by Reagan. The source of the interference is Washington itself.

It was the Carter administration that initiated the process of destabilization that culminated in Seaga's installation as prime minister. Washington had determined to destroy the administration of Michael Manley and the People's National Party.

In greeting Seaga, Reagan was signalling the U.S. government's intentions to follow up Manley's defeat with moves to destabilize Grenada, where a workers' and farmers' government headed by the New Jewel Movement is in power.

Recent terrorist actions, including an attempt to assassinate Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, indicate the destabilization drive against the island of 110,000 Black people is under way.

The Manley government in Jamaica had sought to achieve more independence from Washington and modest reforms for the impoverished Jamaican masses.

Manley found himself at loggerheads with U.S. and international banking forces, which insisted that the lion's share of Jamaica's meager resources be allocated for repayment of loans—plus the customary heavy interest.

The Manley government added to U.S. anger by establishing friendly relations with Cuba.

For these "crimes," Jamaica's desperately needed financial aid was cut. Meanwhile, U.S. backing went to Seaga's right-wing Jamaica Labor Party. Working-class areas were invaded by hired Seaga goons and a campaign of



Reagan and Seaga, top, are worried about revolutionary tide in Caribbean. Bottom, Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop flanked by Fidel Castro and Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega.

beatings and killings was directed against Manley supporters.

In this atmosphere of intimidation the elections were held last October.

Violence was buttressed by ballot fraud. Seaga's victory was "made in the U.S.A."

In the last days of the Carter admin-

istration, a \$40 million loan was granted Seaga with the indication that more would be forthcoming from the International Monetary Fund.

The January 28 *Christian Science Monitor* declared that Seaga "pleased administration officials with his plans to strengthen the private sector of the economy. . . . with his insistence that Jamaica wants to 'earn its way' out of debt. . . ."

That will mean further cuts in the skimpy standard of living of the Jamaican people to assure the banks their pound of flesh.

At a press conference the day after Seaga's visit, Reagan declared that the defeat of Manley was "the turnover—or turnaround—of a nation that had gone—well, certainly in the direction of the Communist movement. . . . it was a protégé of Castro—and his [Seaga's] election was great—greeted by me with great enthusiasm. . . ."

Washington sees its gain in Jamaica as a wedge for deepening intervention in that area.

Bishop responds

Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop is well aware of being high on Reagan's regional hit list. The January 11 English-language edition of Cuba's *Granma* featured an interview in which Bishop declared that his country faced serious danger in the coming months.

Bishop reported that right-wing forces in the region, including the administration of Tom Adams in Barbados, were speaking of the likelihood of a formal blockade of Grenada and the cutting of trade ties.

The *Granma* interview added: "Giving more details on this subject, Bishop mentioned efforts by the United States and Great Britain to block Grenada's traditional sources of aid as happened when the Windward Islands asked for help from the banana association to help repair damage to agriculture caused by a hurricane. The aid was offered, but only if Grenada was excluded."

"Bishop," the interview continued, "also denounced manipulation by U.S. embassy officials to cut off the flow of foreign exchange and provoke the collapse of programs and projects which Grenada is undertaking with the Caribbean Development Bank."

U.S. groups set March 13 Grenada revolution celebrations

March 13 will mark the second anniversary of the victorious revolution in Grenada, which ended the dictatorial rule of Sir Eric Gairy.

Events to celebrate the anniversary are being organized in a number of U.S. cities.

Among those where definite plans have already been reported are Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Minneapolis.

In Pittsburgh, on Monday, February 9, Joseph Burke, Grenadian envoy to the United Nations, will speak at 8 p.m. at the Pitt Student

Union on the subject, "Grenada, Free Black Nation in the Caribbean." The meeting is sponsored by the Black Studies Department and the Center for Latin American Studies.

That same day he will speak at a noontime meeting at Northside Campus of the Community College of Allegheny County.

Desima Williams, Grenada's ambassador to the Organization of American States, will be in the Chicago area February 21-26.

On February 21, she will address the regular Saturday morning meeting of Operation PUSH, presided over by Rev. Jesse Jackson. In addition to the large numbers who attend these sessions, they are also broadcast on one of the city's major Black radio stations.

That evening, she will address a symposium on Black history sponsored by the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

There will also be a citywide pub-

lic meeting for Williams in Chicago with the time and place to be announced shortly.

On February 27, she will speak at a noon meeting at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. Sponsored by the Minneapolis chapter of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society, the meeting is co-sponsored by the university's International Student Association and the Central American Working Group, a coordinating body of Central America solidarity committees.

...Poland

Continued from page 13

ances to all. Liquidation of special shops [open only to police and party officials]."

"Abolition of commercial prices [the system under which quality meat is sold only in special shops at high prices]." (See *Intercontinental Press*, August 25, 1980, p. 845.)

If sacrifices must be made, they must be shared equally. Therefore, instead of charging sky-high prices for scarce meat, the workers proposed that rationing be introduced.

At the same time, the workers demanded that commodities in short

supply should not be exported: "Full supplies on the domestic market. Only surplus commodities should be exported."

The needs of the working people come first, the needs of the imperialist banks that want to collect on Poland's debts come second.

The use of inflation to drive down real wages must be ended. Therefore the workers demand: "Guarantee of automatic salary increases following increases in prices or devaluation of the currency."

Taken together these demands are far more advanced than any demands that have been raised by the union movement in capitalist countries.

This is because in capitalist coun-

tries the workers are compelled to sell their labor power to the private owners of industry. The unions must fight to limit the exploitation of the workers by capital.

The Polish workers are basing their demands on the foundation established by the earlier workers' revolutions that abolished capitalism in Poland.

The mines, factories, mass media, and foreign trade are all in the hands of the state, not of individual exploiters. The workers are simply proposing that the bureaucratic deformations be ended.

More recently, the Polish workers have taken up the demands of their most important allies, the working

farmers. The farmers are demanding the right to organize and a voice in public affairs.

The elimination of bureaucratic mismanagement and parasitism would save the Polish economy enormous sums every year. Perhaps even more important, it would open the way to releasing the full creative powers of the workers and farmers and would generate an unprecedented increase in labor productivity.

By showing that working people can be masters of their own fate, they are setting an example for workers around the world. This is the most important contribution the workers and farmers of Poland can make to the cause of international socialism.

Chicago labor figures oppose El Salvador aid

By Ike Nahem

CHICAGO—"As a citizen of the United States I feel ashamed that the guns that are killing my sisters and brothers in San Salvador were supplied by my government," Johnny Jackson told a meeting of more than 400 people here January 25.

Jackson, a leader of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, is also president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in Chicago.

"When four North American Catholic women were brutally tortured, raped, and murdered by fascists in El Salvador, I thought the U.S. government would be forced to stop its aid to a government that uses such brutal means to stay in power," Jackson said.

"But I was wrong.

"It will take a broad, united movement to build the kind of pressure that can change our government's policy," she said.

Jackson was among the speakers at the Labor and Religious Speak Out Against Repression and U.S. Intervention in El Salvador. Held at the Augustana Lutheran Church, the event was initiated by the church's Social Ministry Committee.

The meeting registered the stand by a wide range of labor leaders in opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

In addition to CLUW, sponsors of the meeting included the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; James Balanoff, director of United Steelworkers District 31; Steelworkers presidents Alice Peurala of Local 65 and Joe Romano of Local 15271; Jim Wright, director of United Auto Workers Region 4; UAW International Representative Carl Schier; and UAW Local 719 President Larry Espinosa.

Also: Pat McNamara, local chairman of United Transportation Union Local 577; Charlie Williams, interna-

tional representative, International Association of Machinists; Hazen Griffen, president, Service Employees International Union Local 372; and District 11 of the United Electrical Workers (UE).

Many participants wore union pins and union jackets.

Several leaders of the endorsing unions invited the Chicago El Salvador Solidarity Committee to make presentations and show the movie *El Salvador: Revolution or Death!* to their locals in the coming weeks.

Religious sponsors included: American Friends Service Committee; Catholic Theological Union, Peace and Justice Commission; Clergy and Laity Concerned; 8th Day Center for Justice; Jesuit School of Theology; and the Religious Task Force on El Salvador.

Other sponsors included Illinois State Representative Carol Mosely Braun, Operation PUSH, Veterans for Peace, and author Studs Terkel.

A new slide show, "El Salvador: A Country in Crisis," gave the historical background to the present civil war, highlighting the military and economic role of the United States. [The slide show and the film *El Salvador: Revolution or Death*, can be obtained from the Chicago El Salvador Solidarity Committee, 3411 W. Diversey, Chicago, Illinois 60647, (312) 227-1632.]

Secundino Ramirez, a member of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, spoke movingly about the current situation in his country.

"We are appealing to the North American people to help us win this war," he said. "The enemy of the working people of my country is the same as the enemy of the North American people: the imperialism of the United States government."

The meeting voted to send a telegram to President Ronald Reagan demanding an end to U.S. aid to El Salvador.

Solidarity with Central America



and the Caribbean

Duarte's aunt condemns his betrayal

Ellie Garcia reports that 150 people demonstrated at the federal building in Phoenix on January 18 to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador and oppose reinstitution of the draft.

The joint rally and picket were co-sponsored by the Phoenix Committee for Human Rights in El Salvador, and the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft.

Speakers at the rally included Jerry Bastian of the Arizona Farmworkers Union, Sister Ann Casey of the Maryknoll order, and others.

The highlight of the rally was the reading by Chole Serpas of her letter to José Napoleón Duarte, the president of the current right-wing military junta in El Salvador. Chole Serpas is Duarte's aunt.

Excerpts from the letter follow (translation by the *Militant*):

"For me, it is very difficult to begin this letter with 'my dear Napo.' Because all familial esteem breaks, disappears, when a man like you tramples the honor of your homeland by placing yourself like a faithful peon of American interests and of an oligarchy that is bloodying the homeland of Farabundo Martí and Roque Dalton.

"The real man," said Jose Martí, 'is always on the side of duty.' And your duty should have been to place yourself on the side of the oppressed, of the suffering workers and peasants of my homeland, which is no longer yours, because you have sold it out to American imperial power. . . .

"What did they promise you? What diabolical maneuver managed to change you? Our people have travelled a long road, Napo. You have put many homes in mourning; today they are crying for their loved ones. But very soon our people will be free. The blood spilled in combat will bear fruit. The chains will be broken and you can be sure that your alliance with an empire that has no friends but only interests, will take you to final defeat. The Salvadoran people have decided to be free or die. And they will win. . . .

"My prayers are, may God help you, and may he forgive you.

"Your aunt, Chole."

U.S. for 'humanitarian' armed forces

Sheila Ostrow reports that 200 people attended a memorial service and participated in a march through downtown Detroit for the martyrs of El Salvador. The January 24 meeting was organized by the Michigan Interchurch Committee for Central American Human Rights (MICAH).

Speakers included Marge Bursie of the American Friends Service Committee. She had just returned from a fact-finding tour of El Salvador.

Her group met with then-U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White, who told them that Washington is committed to supporting the Salvadoran armed forces as an institution, "but in a humanitarian way."

She ended her presentation by urging everybody to remember Vietnam and oppose U.S. aid to the Salvadoran regime.

Rhode Island picket hits aid to junta

More than 175 people conducted a candlelight procession through downtown Providence on January 20 to oppose U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta.

Sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and the Rhode Island and Third World Solidarity Committee, the action ended at the federal building. The marchers, many of whom were Hispanics, chanted slogans in English and Spanish in support of the Salvadoran struggle. Some also carried a banner opposing the draft.

Portland protests biased coverage

On January 23, about 500 people participated in a rally in Portland, Oregon, calling for an end to U.S. economic and military aid to the Salvadoran junta.

The protest was sponsored by the Portland Central America Support Committee (PCASC) and jointly sponsored by thirty other organizations, including the National Organization for Women and Oregon Coalition Against the Draft.

Following the rally, demonstrators marched through downtown Portland to the offices of the *Oregonian*, the city's major daily newspaper. There they picketed to protest the paper's editorial support to the military government in El Salvador.

On January 18, some 300 people attended an ecumenical service in solidarity with El Salvador. Participants included Portland's most prominent religious leaders and the head of the Columbia River District of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

K.C.: 800 protest killings



Maryknoll Sister Jane Gregorich is touring Midwest, speaking out against U.S. backing to El Salvador: 'The departed Archbishop Romero wrote to Carter and begged him not to send any more aid to El Salvador. The problem and the solution must come from the people of El Salvador and all countries where oppression is so deep. We must now listen to their voices and stop all military aid where countries are fighting for their freedom.'

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—More than 800 people participated in a memorial mass and protest rally January 24 to protest murder in El Salvador. The crowd at Sacred Heart Church here was largely from the Latino community.

The rally sent a telegram to the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union congratulating them on their boycott of military shipments to El Salvador.

Another telegram was sent to President Ronald Reagan to "demand immediate cessation of all economic and military aid from the U.S. to the genocidal junta in El Salvador."

Sponsors and participants in the meeting included Jan Long, local president of the National Organization for Women; representative of Operation PUSH and of the Kansas City-St. Joseph Catholic Diocese; and the Kansas City Committee Against the Draft.

Robert Reeds, secretary-treasurer of the Greater Kansas City Labor Council, endorsed and attended the memorial mass.

The main speaker was Sister Jane Gregorich, who is touring the Midwest to speak out against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

At a news conference the preceding day, Ed Haase, business manager of Local 1259 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and coordinator of the Committee for Social Justice in El Salvador, was asked what impact the event here would have.

He responded, "We are not isolated here in Kansas City, but are part of a national movement. . . . We are helping the American people to become aware of the role our government is playing in El Salvador. . . . I am confident that the voices of all of us working together will be heard."

Plan 60,000 new jobs

Nicaraguans discuss 1981 economic plan

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction has initiated discussion of an ambitious economic plan for 1981.

In a January 13 speech before the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), Planning Minister Henry Ruiz outlined the 1981 plan.

The plan projects a 22% boost in industrial production and the creation of some 60,000 jobs.

Overall investment is projected to rise 43.5%, and sharp increases are projected for food production, chemical products, petroleum products, construction, and mining. Cotton planting is slated to increase by one-third.

Overall consumption is projected to increase only 2.6%. However, Ruiz emphasized, consumption of basic services and goods by the working class—including such items as food and fuel—will rise, according to the plan, by 12%.

The plan's official title is "Austerity and Economic Efficiency," and Ruiz made clear where the austerity would come in. The sacrifices, he said, would be made by "the privileged sector."

Ruiz noted in a January 16 speech that "it's possible that some people will find it difficult to continue eating caviar."

Indicating the central political role played by Nicaragua's workers, Ruiz explained:

"We have decided, for political reasons, to make the first public exposition of the Economic Plan in front of the workers. . . . The victory of our people was the victory of the historically dispossessed, and it means that the tasks of national reconstruction, the tasks of economic reorganization, the tasks of social restructuring are fundamentally the tasks of those classes."

Appeal to internationalism

Ruiz noted that the plan had already been discussed with leaders of the Nicaraguan Trade-Union Coordinating Committee (CSN), who were enthusiastic about it. He emphasized that such discussions would continue with all sectors.

The 1981 tasks are being elaborated not only in economic terms, but also in political terms, appealing to the internationalism of Nicaragua's workers.

In a January 10 speech, Commander of the Revolution Luis Carrión, urged participation in campaigns to conserve sugar and fuel supplies.

He explained: "We will set up reserves of sugar and fuel and whatever else we save, for use in case of external aggression or should our Salvadoran brothers and sisters ask for our material help."

"Where will we get sugar to give



Nicaraguans gather in solidarity with people of El Salvador following murder of four American church women.

them, if not from what we don't put in our own mouths? How will we give them fuel, if we don't conserve it? Where will we find anything to give, if we don't patriotically deny it to ourselves?"

"We don't have great surpluses that we can draw on, nor do we have much in the way of material resources. All we can give is what we deny ourselves, all we can do is share what little we have."

These ideas were further explained in a January 18 *Barricada* editorial:

"Transforming our Revolution into a bastion a hundred times stronger in the face of eventual imperialist aggression is today's task. And not only in the interests of the Nicaraguan people. But precisely in the interests of all the peoples of Central America. For this reason, the tasks of Defense and Production [1981 has been declared the Year of Defense and Production], led by our vanguard, are also our internationalist responsibilities."

Fulfilling the 1981 plan, like the 1980 plan, will depend in large part on the consciousness and participation of Nicaragua's working masses, precisely those working people who made the revolution and in whose interests the government of National Reconstruction runs the country and economy.

A key element of the 1981 plan is raising productivity by 9%, a task that can only be achieved through a higher degree of organization of the workers themselves, Ruiz said.

Success of 1980 plan

Part of this increase will come in a cut in nonessential government spending. Ruiz explained that this will release workers for the productive sector without requiring slashes in government services.

The new plan will be able to build on

1980's economic gains. Ruiz reported that the overall production goals of the 1980 plan had been 99% fulfilled.

One of 1980's most impressive successes came in creation of jobs. The plan had projected creating 61,400 new jobs, but in fact employment increased by 112,300, bringing the jobless rate down from 32% to 17%.

Should this year's plan achieve its goal of 60,000 new jobs, unemployment would fall to 13%, the lowest ever for Nicaragua and the lowest in Central America.

Major successes in agriculture were also achieved under the 1980 plan. Rice, corn, and beans, important domestic foodstuffs, all were produced in quantities greater than projected.

Problems arose with exports, however. Cotton, an essential source of foreign exchange, brought in only 92% of projections. Other exports, including meat, gold, and chemical products, reached only 88%.

A relative bright spot was coffee, which, despite five-year-low world market prices, brought in what the plan had projected.

Another important problem remains industrial production. In 1980, industrial production reached only 90% of its target. Ruiz explained, "We need fertilizers, we need machinery, we need equipment, we need material production."

The 1981 plan, if successful, will bring industrial production back up to the level of 1977, which was the country's highest.

Nicaragua also faces a series of economic problems beyond the revolution's control.

Forced to sell raw materials and buy manufactured goods, Nicaragua is essentially at the mercy of the world capitalist market. With 1980 coffee prices way down, national income was sharply reduced.

Soaring oil prices also take a heavy toll. Petroleum imports cost Nicaragua \$165 million in 1980, and will jump to \$256 million in 1981, without any increase in consumption.

In 1977, one hundred pounds of Nicaragua's coffee bought thirteen barrels of oil, Ruiz explained; in 1980, five barrels; and in 1981 the same one hundred pounds of coffee will buy just two-and-a-half barrels.

Nicaragua also faces the problem of an inherited \$1.6 billion foreign debt. The debt was worsened by the country's unfavorable balance of trade. Of every dollar Nicaragua earns in foreign exchange, fifty-five cents goes to pay debts.

Because the plan's success depends on the voluntary cooperation of all the workers, Ruiz said, "If there are some compañeros who don't understand the problem, we are totally willing to discuss with them, to explain our economic problems. . . ."

"We want every peasant compañero, even the ones with only a couple of acres, to know how much it costs to produce their hundred pounds of coffee."

From Intercontinental Press

...El Salvador

Continued from page 7

with massive numbers of U.S. troops right now because of the antiwar sentiment within the U.S. working class, it has begun stepping up its aid to the junta and is sending more U.S. military personnel.

International solidarity

In this situation, international solidarity with the Salvadoran people is more important than ever. As was the case in Vietnam, such solidarity can play a big role in helping to win the battle.

The Salvadoran liberation fighters have staunch allies in the revolutionary governments of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

The Socialist International is on record in opposition to aid to the junta, as is the UN General Assembly. The Mexican government has repeatedly warned against any U.S. intervention, and there is deep sympathy for the

Salvadoran struggle within the Catholic Church.

The potential exists for building a massive international solidarity movement, and that is the task of the day.

The general offensive launched by the FMLN on January 10 signalled the opening of an all-out civil war in El Salvador. As one of the FDR representatives at the solidarity conference in Managua explained:

"You must understand that this is not some little army that the Salvadoran people are up against. It is an army backed by the mightiest imperialist force on earth. It is not surprising that this army has been able to deal us some blows."

"The Salvadoran people have been fighting for fifty years," he continued, "and we understand very well that the final phase of the revolution can last a few days, or a few weeks, or even a few years. But we also know that in the end the Salvadoran people will win."

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French domination set back in Chad war

By Ernest Harsch

Hundreds of French troops, equipped for a rapid military strike, were dispatched in mid-January to Bouar, in the Central African Republic, just a hundred miles from the border with Chad. In France itself, two paratroop companies of Paris's overseas intervention force were placed on alert.

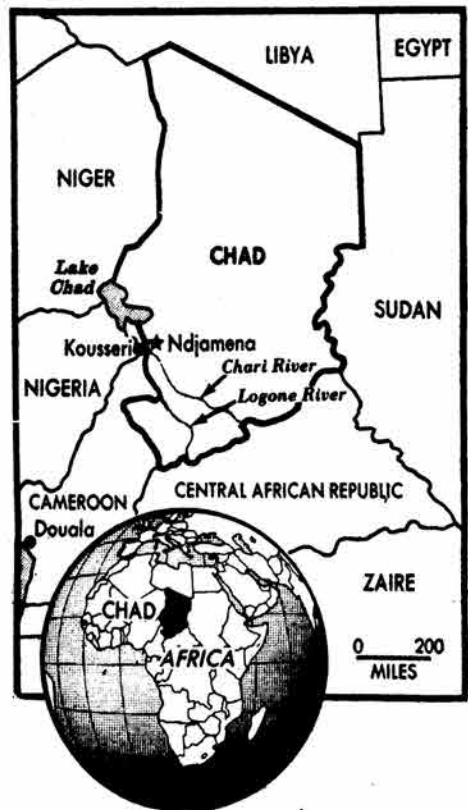
The threat to Chad could hardly be clearer. The French government—which had dominated Chad for decades and which has sent troops to Africa many times to crush popular rebellions and overthrow independent governments—is once again signalling its readiness to intervene in defense of French imperialist interests.

The Chadian government has condemned the French threats and has called on Africa to beware of "the danger that a French intervention would represent."

End of civil war

Paris's new military moves come in the wake of the defeat of the French-backed forces in Chad's civil war.

On the night of December 14-15,



after a months-long stalemate, the rebel forces of Hissène Habré were driven out of the Chadian capital of N'Djamena by government units, supported by Libyan troops.

Within a few more days, Habré's army had disintegrated and his remaining followers fled across the borders to Cameroon and the Sudan.

The coalition of forces backing the government of President Goukouni Oueddei was victorious. Goukouni is the leader of the largest faction of the Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad (Frolinat—Chad National Liberation Front), which has been fighting since the mid-1960s against French domination over Chad.

A front-page editorial in the December 17 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* summed up the outcome of the Chadian civil war: "A major setback for Paris."

French troops not welcome

The extent of Paris's reverse was symbolized by Goukouni's statement on January 6 that "Chad will never again allow French troops to be stationed on its territory." He pointed out that the Chadian people had "lost thousands of martyrs while France supported the previous reactionary Chadian regimes."

In a further display of independence from Paris, the Chadian government has established especially close ties with the regime of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi in neighboring Libya.

An undisclosed number of Libyan troops, technicians, advisers, and doctors have been sent to Chad to help

strengthen the government's forces and to assist in the reconstruction of the country, which has been ravaged by years of warfare and French intervention.

On January 6, following a visit by Goukouni to the Libyan capital of Tripoli, the two governments announced a "strengthening of the strategic alliance between the two countries."

The borders were to be opened between Libya and Chad to allow unhindered travel, and a joint communiqué called for the "complete unity" of Libya and Chad.

Enraged that two African governments would take such a step without consulting them—let alone without their okay—the French imperialists and their allies in Africa have launched a major propaganda drive to try to portray the presence of Libyan troops in Chad and the agreement between the two governments as an outright Libyan annexation of Chad.

Howls from Paris

Robert Galley, the French minister of defense, stressed that Paris disapproved of the unity agreement and claimed that it was "contrary to international law."

With all the arrogance of a colonial overlord, the French Foreign Ministry questioned the Chadian government's right to conclude such treaties. It also announced that it would cancel an oil-exploration deal that had previously been signed with Libya.

In Washington, the State Department declared that the U.S. government was "extremely concerned" by "the presence in Chad of an estimated 4,000 Libyan troops with tanks and artillery."

President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt, who provided aid to Habré's forces during the Chadian civil war, warned of "Soviet infiltration" and a "red encirclement" of the region "from Afghanistan to Aden, from Angola to Ethiopia, from Syria to Libya and Chad." Sadat also hinted at a possible direct military intervention against Libya and Chad.

President Gaafar el-Nimeiry of the Sudan threatened to continue aiding the remnants of Habré's forces and dispatched Sudanese troops to the Chadian border. The Nigerian government expelled Libyan diplomats from that country.

Paris, Washington, and the proimperialist regimes in Africa are concerned not only about the diminished French control over Chad, but also about the Libyan regime's increased influence in the region as a whole.

They have made little secret of their displeasure over many of Qaddafi's foreign policy initiatives, including his regime's support for the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Iranian revolution, and numerous anti-imperialist currents on the African continent.

In addition, they are worried that the French setback in Chad could encourage other peoples in the region to step up their own struggles against imperialist domination. There is hardly a government in the area that has not faced some sign of serious internal unrest in recent months.

French reinforcements sent

Thus the bolstering of the French military presence in Africa, besides being a direct threat to Chad, is aimed at dissuading popular opposition to these neighboring regimes.

In addition to the new units sent to the Central African Republic, some troops have been dispatched to Niger, and Paris is considering reinforcing its other military garrisons in Senegal, Gabon, and the Ivory Coast. A French military mission has been sent to the Sudan.

The French government has tried to justify these moves by claiming that it



One of the contingents of French troops dispatched to Central African Republic in mid-January.

is only seeking to defend African countries from external aggression. A January 8 Foreign Ministry statement, for example, had the audacity to declare that "France would stand by the Chad people insofar as their rights were concerned, and by Africa insofar as Africa's security was concerned."

The people of Africa, unfortunately, have considerable experience in what such fine-sounding phrases actually mean.

Role of French troops

During the Angolan civil war of 1975-76, the French government collaborated with the South African invasion of that country and helped funnel money and arms to the Angolan side backed by Washington and South Africa.

Two times, in 1977 and 1978, French commando units intervened in Zaïre to crush popular uprisings in the province of Shaba, leaving hundreds of Africans dead.

In 1977 and 1978, French planes took part in bombing raids against guerrilla units of the Polisario Front, which is fighting for the independence of Western Sahara from Moroccan rule.

And in September 1979, French troops intervened in the Central African Republic, deposed the existing government, and installed a new pro-French regime.

Chad itself has been the victim of years of French intervention.

Around the turn of the century, the indigenous societies in the region were subjugated by the French colonial armies. To help ensure their continued rule, the colonial authorities sought to pit Chad's various peoples against each other, primarily the Sara people of the south against the largely Muslim and Arabic-speaking peoples of northern and central Chad.

Despite Paris's self-proclaimed "civilizing mission" in Africa, French rule left Chad an impoverished country.

French companies made large profits from the cotton plantations of the south, but Chad's approximately 4.5 million people had to live on a per capita income of just \$90 a year. Virtually no industry was developed.

When the French finally decided to grant formal independence to Chad in 1960, they installed the pro-French dictatorship of Ngarta Tombalbaye to guard their interests.

Tombalbaye soon instituted discriminatory measures against the peoples of northern and central Chad, and in 1963 massacred more than 100 Muslim protesters in the capital. Two years later, a massive peasant uprising in eastern Chad was put down, with the loss of hundreds of lives.

It was out of these conflicts that Frolinat was formed in 1966. It des-

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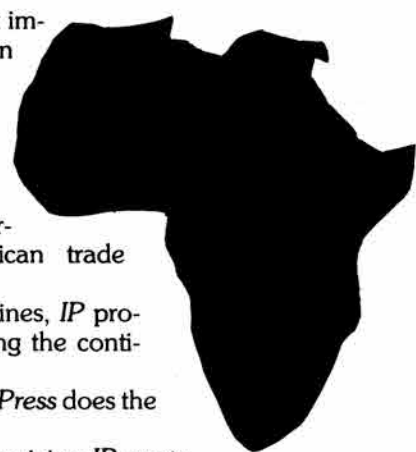
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cribed itself as a nationalist group that opposed both the French presence in Chad and the neocolonial regime in Ndjamena. Its main base has traditionally been among the Muslim peoples.

Between 1968 and 1972, several thousand French troops conducted brutal counterinsurgency operations in the countryside, leaving thousands dead. Though Frolinat suffered heavy losses, the rebellion was not crushed.

Frolinat had been receiving aid from neighboring Libya since Qaddafi's seizure of power in 1969. This included material assistance and the provision of sanctuary in southern Libya.

But Qaddafi's backing was erratic. In 1972 he cut off all aid to Frolinat, and later pushed 2,000 refugees back across the border into Chad, when the French agreed to sell Libya jets. In addition, Tombalbaye allowed Qaddafi to annex a strip of Chadian territory along the northern border with Libya.

New regime installed

In 1975, Tombalbaye, who had been unable to contain the insurgency, was overthrown and a new pro-French regime, that of Gen. Félix Malloum, was installed. He proved no more successful in halting the rebellion than his predecessor.

By late 1977, the most important faction of Frolinat, that of Goukouni Oueddei, began to make new gains and to win greater support in the country. Qaddafi, by then, had resumed aid to Frolinat.

In January 1978, Goukouni's insurgent forces went on the offensive, and soon won control of the vast, but sparsely populated, northern regions. Malloum's army suffered staggering losses, with Frolinat capturing about a quarter of the regular army and the paramilitary forces.

As Frolinat continued its drive into central Chad, which is more heavily populated, Paris rushed in more than 1,000 reinforcements to hold off the rebel offensive.

For the first time, the French intervention sparked off large demonstrations in the major towns of central and southern Chad, revealing the depth of the anti-imperialist sentiment in the country.

In face of this growing resistance to French domination—and renewed opposition to French military interventions from within France itself—the authorities in Paris concluded that they could not maintain their control through armed might alone.

Consequently, negotiations were begun with a small, splinter faction of Frolinat headed by Hissène Habré. With the aim of derailing the anti-imperialist upsurge, Habré was appointed prime minister in August 1978, while Malloum became president.

With French backing, Habré recruited troops and strengthened his military forces in the capital. The French viewed Habré as a possible counter to Goukouni's Frolinat.

By early 1979, Habré felt strong

enough to try to eliminate Malloum himself, and a brief but fierce civil war erupted in the capital between the two pro-French figures. Paris, however, had already abandoned Malloum and gave its tacit backing to Habré.

But Habré failed to win any significant popular support. The main Frolinat rebel forces still wielded considerable influence. They were too strong to ignore.

In late 1979, Paris was finally forced to accept their entry into a new coalition government. Goukouni became president and Habré minister of defense. Lt. Col. Wadal Kamougué, the most prominent holdover from the Malloum regime, was named vice-president.

Divided government

As part of this agreement, which was reached under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Paris had to promise to withdraw all French troops from Chad.

The new government, which was formally composed of eleven political and military groups, was fragile and divided. Habré took advantage of this and moved to further strengthen his position in the capital.

According to a report in the December 17, 1980, *Washington Post*, French officials considered Habré's armed forces "one of the best disciplined and well-trained military organizations in French-speaking Africa."

In March 1980, Habré struck. He launched an all-out military assault against Goukouni and the other groups supporting the government. Ndjamena was devastated, and in the first two months of the war alone at least 800 persons were killed in the capital.

Paris, which withdrew its last troops in May, claimed that it was neutral in the civil war. In reality, it continued to back Habré against the recognized government. Moreover, the proimperialist regimes in Egypt and the Sudan provided direct assistance to Habré's forces.

With this backing, Habré managed to capture and hold important sections of the capital. The military conflict reached a stalemate, which lasted for months. In late November, Goukouni agreed to sign an OAU-sponsored cease-fire, but Habré refused.

Confronted with Habré's intransigence and the interference of the French, Egyptian, and Sudanese governments in Chad's internal affairs, the Chadian government asked for Libyan military assistance, in accord with a defense treaty signed between the two governments in June 1980. This assistance was apparently decisive in breaking the stalemate. Much to the French imperialists' surprise, Habré's "disciplined" army simply fell apart.

Though Paris has been dealt a stinging setback, the dangers to Chad—and to the rest of Africa—remain. As long as French troops are in Africa, no people on the continent can feel secure.

From Intercontinental Press

Why South Africa blew up Namibia talks

By Ernest Harsch

The breakdown of the United Nations-sponsored negotiations in Geneva over the future of Namibia could not have pleased the South African government more.

From the very beginning of the talks on January 7, it became clear that the apartheid regime, which has ruled Namibia for decades, still has no intention of granting the more than one million Blacks of that country their right to self-determination.

The talks, however, did mark the first time that a South African delegation has agreed to sit down at the same conference table with leaders of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the Namibian liberation movement. That it did so is testimony to the growing strength of SWAPO within Namibia, as well as to its increasing international support.

During the conference, the SWAPO delegation made it clear that it was willing to make some tactical concessions if that were necessary to reach an accord on Namibia's independence.

In particular, it declared its readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement in return for guarantees that free and fair elections would be held to determine who would lead an independent Namibia.

Racists fear elections

But the South Africans, convinced that SWAPO would sweep the polls in any free election, were not interested. An agreement, according to one South African delegate, would now be "premature."

Another speculated that it would take at least two years before the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a coalition of pro-South African groups, would be in a position to run against SWAPO.

"It is clear now," SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma stated after the breakdown of the talks on January 13, "that South Africa fears for genuine, free and fair elections to take place in Namibia, because it knows its puppets, which it paraded here, will lose."

One important factor in the South African government's intransigence has been Washington's stance. Although the White House gives lip service to Namibian independence, in practice it has backed the apartheid regime's position.

Every time a resolution has been presented to the UN Security Council calling for the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, the U.S. representative has vetoed it.

The South Africans have been further encouraged by the election of Ronald Reagan. One of the people Reagan appointed to his transition team, Marion Smoak, is registered in Washington as an official lobbyist for the South African-installed administration in Namibia.

Stakes are high

For the imperialists, the stakes in Namibia are considerable. A victory by SWAPO would be a serious political blow to the apartheid regime, and would further inspire South Africa's own Black majority.

The American, British, and South African ruling classes, moreover, have substantial economic interests in Namibia. Although Namibia is sparsely populated, it has vast mineral reserves. It is the world's second largest producer of gem diamonds and has important deposits of zinc, lead, copper, uranium, cadmium, lithium, and vanadium.

Thanks to the South African regime's racist policies in Namibia, the companies exploiting these mineral

resources benefit from the extremely low wages paid to Black workers.

In 1977, for instance, the average Black income was one twenty-fifth of the average white income.

Blacks, moreover, face racial discrimination in most spheres of life. They have virtually no political rights.

SWAPO's struggle

It was to fight against such conditions that SWAPO launched an armed struggle against the South African colonial administration in 1966.

During the 1970s, SWAPO's influence grew considerably, bolstered by a massive strike in 1971-72 by thousands of Black workers and by the collapse of Portuguese colonial rule in neighboring Angola. Today, SWAPO enjoys the support of most of Namibia's Black population.

The apartheid authorities themselves are well aware of this. In 1980, a former agent of the South African Bureau of State Security, citing a BOSS report from April of that year, admitted that SWAPO would win as much as 83 percent of the vote if democratic elections were held in Namibia.

To try to prevent SWAPO from coming to power, some 60,000 South African troops have been sent to Namibia. They have uprooted tens of thousands of villagers, particularly in the northern region of Ovamboland, where SWAPO has its greatest base of support.

Much of Namibia is under martial law.

Although SWAPO is formally legal, it has been driven into semi-clandestinity by a fierce repression in which scores of SWAPO leaders have been swept into detention. Political prisoners are routinely tortured.

War against Angola

South African jets and helicopter-borne troops regularly strike into Angola, both to hit Namibian refugee camps and to bomb Angolan villages, bridges, and factories in retaliation for the Angolan government's aid to SWAPO.

According to Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos, the South Africans are conducting an "undeclared war" against Angola.

During 1980 alone, South African troops have killed more than 1,500 Namibians and Angolans.

Young Namibians, however, have not been intimidated. They are flocking in increasing numbers to join the liberation forces.

SWAPO guerrillas have been able to function in larger and larger military units. Although the South African press tries to minimize the army's losses, the guerrillas are also becoming more effective.

Despite the heavy repression in the cities, SWAPO supporters have continued to stage public protests against South African rule. In December, for instance, more than 2,000 SWAPO supporters rallied in Windhoek, the Namibian capital, to demonstrate against a new decree on compulsory military training.

With the attainment of Black rule in nearby Zimbabwe, the focus of the liberation struggle in southern Africa has now shifted more toward Namibia.

What the people of Namibia are fighting for is both political independence and economic liberation.

In the words of SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma, "We are not going to accept the present economic exploitation and oppression of the Namibian people. Disparity and inequality have completely to be wiped out."

From Intercontinental Press

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In Review

Polish film hits repression and lies

Man of Marble. Produced at the Documentary Film Studios, Warsaw. Directed by Andrzej Wajda. Screenplay by Aleksander Scibor-Rylski.

When *Man of Marble* was released in Poland in February 1977, nearly three million people out of a population of thirty-five million saw it within three months. It was especially popular with young people. They perceived it as an exploration of the roots of contemporary bureaucratic corruption in the untalked-about Stalinist past. It is a riveting film.

Its director, Andrzej Wajda, is best known to Americans through his film *Ashes and Diamonds*.

The story of *Man of Marble* is that of a young filmmaker, Agnieszka, who is intent on making a documentary on Mateusz Birkut, nationally lauded as a model worker in the early 1950s, only to end up in obscurity. In her quest to find out about him, she meets discouragement from her producer, who warns against using "classified materials," and an initial reluctance to speak by those who knew him.

Immensely energetic and determined to discover the truth, she persists in her inquiries. Her efforts have parallels to those of the director of *Man of Marble* himself. Although he has been acclaimed as one of the leading directors of the world, Wajda had to fight for thirteen years to get permission to do this film.

Film

Birkut, it develops, was a sincere idealist who headed a record-making team for laying bricks because he wished to speed construction for the benefit of the masses. He did not realize that, as far as other workers were concerned, he was helping to speed up work to an unbearable degree.

This period in Poland's past was a tragic reliving of the 1930s Stakhanov movement to raise labor productivity in the Soviet Union. The Stalinist bureaucracy itself stood in the way of raising labor productivity, and its own failures caused it to witchhunt worker resistance as counterrevolutionary activity.

This is precisely what happened in the Poland of Birkut, the man in whose honor a grandiose marble statue was built. He was maimed by a red-hot brick that a resentful worker caused to be passed to him, and his pal Witek was falsely charged with the act as an alleged member of a sabotage ring organized by foreign intelligence.

When Birkut interceded for his friend, he met bureaucratic opposition. When he tried to tell the workers of his union of what had happened, he himself was framed up and imprisoned.

When Witek and Birkut were released after the workers' protests of 1956, Witek knew how to accommodate himself to the new modified Stalinism, but Birkut did not. He refused to take advantage of his rehabilitation and fame to become an official empty vowing to correct "past errors and distortions." Witek, on the oth-



Filmmaker searches for 'model worker' in streets of Gdansk. Part of censored portion of 'Man of Marble.'

er hand, went on to become a smug manager of a steel-works.

Witek is only one of a number of persons interviewed by Agnieszka who have betrayed their pasts. The film director who made Birkut famous by glorifying his feat has, after an early honest film of working class conditions, won a reputation and a fortune by giving the bureaucracy what it wants.

Birkut's wife publicly denounced him after his trial and went to live with a wealthy restaurant owner who bribes government officials. The restaurant owner wanted Birkut to act as a contact man with these officials. Birkut refused and left.

At this point, when Agnieszka has lost track of Birkut, she is deprived of the money and personnel to continue the film. Her father, a railroad worker, urges her not to give up. There must be something specific that the authorities are trying to cover up, he tells her.

There is now a gap in the continuity of the film, evidently, as was common talk in Poland, the result of a vital cut by the censors.

Agnieszka learns that Birkut's son is a worker in the Gdansk shipyard. When she questions him about his father, he curtly tells her that he is dead and leaves. In the next and last scene she waits for him again, he says to her that he knew she would not stop inquiring, and walks off with her.

In an interview, Wajda implied that the conclusion caused a problem with the censorship and gave a clue as to what it earlier contained.

"Originally," he said, "there was another ending to the film. Agnieszka was trying in vain to find Birkut's tomb in a cemetery in Gdansk. . . . But it was not my purpose to hint that he might have died during the upheaval in 1970. Hence, the ending was not only a problem of censorship."

The statement that he did not intend for it to be construed that Birkut was killed by the security police in the strikes of 1970 seems to me to be merely a diplomatic way of informing the world of what the original conclusion was. A vain search for a tomb in Gdansk would surely suggest to Poles one of the many deaths not officially reported at the time.

This would be an appropriately ironic conclusion: the man who had been hailed by the regime as a model worker was later shot down by it. Still animated by his socialist zeal, he had learned the need to fight the bureaucracy. This was the secret that Agnieszka's father had inferred the authorities wanted to cover up.

If so, it is ironic that the real-life authorities, like those in the film, wanted to suppress it.

—Paul Siegel

Why one Black GI 'confessed' to U.S. Army

A clerk-typist in a U.S. Army communications center in France, he's the only Black enlisted man in the outfit. He doesn't like racism. Where he can, he stands up to it.

Classified documents are reported stolen from the office he works in. Without evidence to bolster the charge, he is accused of stealing the documents.

Army Intelligence sets out to compel him to confess. He's subjected to merciless interrogation, frequently routed out of bed in the middle of the night for grilling and abuse.

Television

"If I could, I'd pull every hair out of your ugly Black body," shouts one interrogator.

He's given a lie detector test and demands to know the result. It wasn't "professionally administered. You have to take another."

He's hypnotized and questioned. Again, he demands to know the results.

"You weren't in a deep enough trance."

He is injected with sodium pentothal "truth serum." Still no confession.

Dragged to an interrogation cell one night, he

hears a woman screaming. He's told it's his girl friend. If he doesn't confess, they'll use a knife on her.

He's told his mother is dying and knows of the accusation against him. If he doesn't come clean, her death will be on his shoulders.

He signs a "confession." He signs a half dozen "confessions" in as many weeks. But he can't provide a plausible explanation of what happened to the documents, since he doesn't know.

The torture continues. Finally, Intelligence personnel, in league with French police, spirit him off to an abandoned mill. There he's administered a stiff dose of the hallucinogenic drug LSD, enough to spark a nightmarish partial derangement. As he writhes in agony he's told that unless he talks, he'll be left in that tortured condition permanently.

After that, and more, his torturers give up. He's booted out of the army with an administrative discharge.

He tries to resume civilian life, but his shattering experience took too big a toll. He suffers long periods of depression, nightmares, headaches. He can't hold a job for more than a few months. Two marriages end in divorce.

Even for racist America, it sounds a bit far-fetched? But it's all documented fact. And probably not the whole story.

The victim is James Thornwell, who went through that army experience back in 1961. Sixteen years later, he learned that he, along with others, had been the subject of a secret army drug experiment with LSD.

With a lawyer's aid, he obtained documents under the Freedom of Information Act confirming what the army had done to him.

In 1979, his story was told on the TV program "60 Minutes."

Thornwell sued the government for \$10 million. To get rid of the case, Congress voted last month to award him \$625,000.

The story of James Thornwell was seen again as a "docu-drama" on CBS January 28.

In terms of writing, direction, and some of the acting, there were flaws in the production. Perhaps they were explained best by the producer, Harry Moses, who told one interviewer:

"I think I understand better than I did before why so much of television is as bad as it is. You work in a system where art is not art, it is commerce."

Nonetheless "Thornwell" was a drama that held you because it was a true story. It was a sledgehammer indictment of this racist society.

—Harry Ring



Heavy stuff—In a footnote to history, an aide to former President Carter indicated to reporters the unusual measures the White House took to secure release of the hostages. These included enlisting the good offices of such figures as the pope and Billy Carter.

Probably expects hot water, too—We generally check a hotel room for roaches and whether there's any springs left in the bed. More prosperous folk apparently have different concerns. An article on how the plush travel says Gloria Vanderbilt sends

her "assistant" ahead to see that her scented candle is lit, her own special sheets are on the bed, her clothes are ironed, and her favorite taped music is playing.

What else is new?—"Homes of future: Size will shrink but not the price"—*New York Times* headline.

Kill 'em with kindness—Los Angeles cops may kill a lot of innocent people, but they care. When a poll reported that the public perceives the

police as professional but unfeeling, Chief Gates reportedly urged his troops to adopt "a warm, cuddly approach."

For the rest, barrels—The mayor of Hialeah, Florida, created a bit of a stir when it was disclosed that he's giving the city's top management staff clothing allowances of \$345 a year. He feels they should project a proper image.

Shopping tip—Bijan's, the plush Beverly Hills apparel shop, features such items as a camel's hair top coat with a mink collar. \$4,800. But don't

rush over. The door is locked and if the doorman doesn't know you, an appointment is required.

Thought for the week—"WASHINGTON—More than 35 years ago, the United States began making atomic weapons; 24 years ago, the country's first commercial nuclear power generating plant opened in Shippingport, Penn. Yet this country has still to dispose of its first pound of high-level waste from either armament factories or utility plants."—the January 25 *New York Times*.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey & Irish freedom fight

The following article appears in the February issue of the 'Young Socialist' newspaper (for a one-year subscription send two dollars to P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003).

The recent hunger strike by political prisoners in Northern Ireland, and the assassination attempt made on the life of Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, drew the attention of the world to the explosive situation in Northern Ireland.

The big business press portrays the struggle in Northern Ireland as a war between Catholic and Protestant extremists. Far from being a religious war, the struggle in Northern Ireland is the continuation of one of the oldest national liberation movements in the world—the fight of the Irish people for a united and free homeland.

Ireland is dominated by England. Its political and economic life are run from London, and its people are forced to endure low wages and high unemployment to make super-profits for Britain's rich. Northern Ireland is under direct colonial rule.

British rule was effectively established through a series of genocidal wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which completed a long process of conquest. In order to keep the native Catholic population in check, Britain tried to establish Protestant settlements throughout the country, and succeeded in planting large colo-

nies in the north of Ireland. The Protestant population has historically received privileges relative to the Catholics, and in exchange it has supported continued British domination.

The civil rights struggle demanding equal rights for Catholics swept Ireland from 1969 to 1971. It was modeled, in part, on the movement for Black rights in the United States. Irish demonstrators sang "We Shall Overcome" and mobilized popular sentiment in the form of protest actions and demonstrations to demand their rights.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey was a leader of this struggle. She was elected to the British Parliament in 1969, at the age of twenty-one. Devlin McAliskey has continued to be one of the foremost leaders of the Irish liberation struggle. It is for this reason that she has been singled out, along with other leaders, for violent attack. On the morning of January 16 three assassins broke into her home and seriously wounded Devlin McAliskey and her husband Michael.

Three years ago, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey led the organization of relatives of imprisoned Irish freedom fighters to demand the release of political prisoners and to help build the movement against the presence of British troops. The Relative Action Committees organized the biggest mass action in Northern Ireland in many years. More recently she helped organize the

"Smash H-Block" campaign.

The H-Block gets its name because it is built in the shape of an "H". It is here that Irish prisoners jailed for political offenses are taken. The British colonial authorities decreed in 1976 that henceforth all persons convicted of offenses against "law and order" would be considered common criminals. Formerly they received a special political status.

When the British authorities abolished the political status for prisoners, however, they did not abolish the special juryless courts that were set up to try alleged terrorists. Since 1976, these "Diplock Courts" have sentenced many hundreds of young nationalists to long prison terms, most of them on the basis of statements extorted in the special interrogation centers, such as Castlereagh, that have been set up to deal with "political offenders."

The nationalist prisoners who refused to accept convict status were kept in the H-Block of Long Kesh Prison. These were supposed to be special punitive cells for prisoners who refuse to conform to prison regulations, thereby losing all the "privileges" of regular inmates. Virtually all the nationalist prisoners came under this category.

Rather than wear a convict's uniform, they sit naked in their cells, wrapped in a blanket. Rather than be beaten, humiliated, and subjected to anal "searches," they refuse to wash.

Along with the women political prisoners of Armaugh Prison, they refuse to do prison work. For this they are kept in their cells at all times, get no exercise, can receive absolutely no outside communication (including television and radio), and are not allowed to read, write, or associate with their fellow prisoners. In all, four hundred male and forty female prisoners protested.

In desperation, some of the prisoners launched a hunger strike. Their determination inspired a mass upsurge in all thirty-two counties of Ireland. World opinion rallied around the prisoners despite a heavily-financed campaign in the mass media organized by the British government.

The British were forced to give in to the prisoners' demands not to be treated like criminals. However, at this time, the prisoners' relatives are not being allowed to give them civilian clothing. The prisoners are threatening to go back on hunger strike if the British government reneges on its agreement with them.

A new generation of young fighters are raising their heads. The Irish revolution will be led by what the eighteenth century Irish rebel, Wolf Tone, called the "men of no property." The British, and agents of anti-nationalist reaction, are afraid of people like Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, whose experience is invaluable for these young militants.

—Evan Siegel

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

H-BLOCK AND THE IRISH FREEDOM STRUGGLE. Speaker: Cobey McCarthy, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 1243 E. McDowell. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

REPORT ON THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF NATIONAL BLACK PARTY. Speakers: Geraldine Gregory, western regional coordinator of National Black Independent Political Party and vice-president of NAACP District 4 Central Area Conference; Prof. James E. Dennis, Black Studies Dept., California State Univ. at Northridge; Ollie Bivens, participant in 1972 and 1976 National Black political conventions, member Socialist Workers Party; Gary Ramo, president, Black Student Union, Mount San Antonio College. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

OAKLAND

THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION TODAY: WHAT'S BEHIND THE HOSTAGE CRISIS. Speakers: Barry Sheppard, national co-chair, Socialist Workers Party; representative of Iranian Student Association. Fri., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

SAN DIEGO

REAGANISM... AND THE MORAL MAJORITY. Speakers: Elaine Mosher, office staff director, San

Diego chapter of American Civil Liberties Union; Linda Lang, chapter organizer, San Diego Young Socialist Alliance; representative, Abortion Rights Action Coalition. Fri., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

COLORADO DENVER

WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM MALCOLM X. Film: "A Tribute to Malcolm X." Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

SOCIALISTS EXPOSE LOCKHEED-FBI SPYING. Speaker: Chris Hoepfner, member, International Association of Machinists Lodge 709. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

INDIANA GARY

U.S. ECONOMIC CRISIS: IS SOCIALISM THE ANSWER? Speaker: Louis Cobet, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 14, 3 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

THE LAUNCHING OF THE NATIONAL BLACK INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY. Speakers: Hattie McCutcheon, attended founding convention, NBIPP; Michael Williams, leader of Community Action Now, active in fight against police brutality. Sat., Feb. 14, 8 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 3207

Dublin. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

CENTRAL AMERICAN POWDER KEG: THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY. Speaker: Warren Simons, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 1012 Second Ave. S., Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

TWIN CITIES

THE TRUTH ABOUT IRAN. Speakers: Mary Shepard, member, board of directors, Minnesota Clergy and Laity Concerned (visited Iran February 1980); Cathy Sedwick, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 14, 8 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI ST. LOUIS

REOPEN HOMER G. PHILLIPS HOSPITAL. Speakers: representatives from Campaign for Human Dignity; Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 15, 7 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

OREGON PORTLAND

SOCIALISTS PUT U.S. SECRET POLICE ON TRIAL. Speakers: Mel Mason, Black socialist city councilman from Seaside, California; Chris Hoepfner, socialist and union activist fired from

Lockheed-Georgia. Sun., Feb. 15, reception 7 p.m.; rally 7:30 p.m. Friends Hall, 4312 Southeast Stark St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

'BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY.' Hear Malcolm X's most famous speech. Followed by panel discussion on Black liberation today. Speakers: Chris Davis, member National Black Independent Political Party, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., Feb. 15, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

TEXAS

SAN ANTONIO

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY: TONY PRINCE FOR MAYOR. Speakers: Adela Navarro, Raza Unida Party; Antonio Cabral, vice-president, American Federation of Government Employees Local 3320; Shirley Castro, Young Socialist Alliance; Betty Koster, National Organization for Women and American Civil Liberties Union; others. Sat., Feb. 14, 7 p.m. 1406 N. Flores. Donation: \$3. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (512) 222-8398.

WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

IRAN: THE REAL STORY BEHIND THE HOSTAGE RELEASE. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 957 S. University. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0056.

Learning About Socialism

Radio Moscow on Stalin and Trotsky

A reader's question:

Please explain in your weekly paper this excerpt from Radio Moscow North American Broadcast from Moscow Mailbag.

Joseph J. McBride
Southport, Connecticut

The excerpt was in response to two questions: "Do the Soviet people like Stalin?" and, "Do the Soviet people like Leon Trotsky?"

Moscow radio responded to the question about Joseph Stalin:

"Well, you see, he had his good points and he had his bad points. No one can deny that Stalin stood at the helm when we won the war, when we industrialized the country which helped to win the war, that he fought the enemies of Leninism. But he also had his weak points. He violated Soviet law, under him there were mass repressions that were completely unfounded. As a result many innocent people suffered. I think the main thing today is to remember and to know for sure that there are guarantees against the abuse of power today, and there are guarantees against the repetition of such unfortunate errors."

The Radio Moscow commentator responded to the question "Do the Soviet people like Leon Trotsky?" with:

"I am afraid not. Why? Well, I'll give you a few reasons. He insisted that the building of socialism in Soviet Russia should be repudiated. He believed that the development of a socialist economy in our country would only be possible when the workers in the leading countries of Europe triumphed. But I think the history of the Soviet Union has proved the opposite."

"After he was expelled from our country in 1929, he rushed around from one country to another with only one aim in view—to sow the seeds of hatred for the Soviet Union. You see, the capitulatory essence of Trotskyism is manifested in the idea that not a single national, call it detachment of the working class movement, can count on the successful outcome of the revolutionary struggle. In other words, unless the whole world arises, nothing will come of it. Trotsky wrote that the preservation of a workers', of a proletarian revolution within the national framework can only be temporary."

"Again the example of the Soviet Union has refuted this. In other words what he meant was—'don't start unless you are positive you can get your neighbor moving.' The Trotskyists that do exist in the West today have attempted to discredit the struggle for peace, provocatively announcing that war should not be feared since war is the mother of revolution."

Stu Singer replies:

The differences between Trotsky and Stalin were about internationalism and socialist democracy. The statements that Trotsky "insisted that the building of socialism in the Soviet Union should be repudiated" and advocated "hatred of the Soviet Union" are simply lies.

The same differences exist in the workers movement today. The proletarian internationalism of the Cuban revolutionaries, for example, represents the opposite of the policies of Stalin's heirs in the Soviet Union and China, who bargain off revolutions for better trade deals and detente with the imperialists.

Another example is Poland. The workers there have organized an independent union to represent their interests as opposed to the dictatorial, privileged bureaucracy which misgoverns the Polish workers state.

Leon Trotsky was one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution of 1917. He worked closely with Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who was the central leader of the Bolshevik Party and of the Russian Revolution.



Leon Trotsky. His writings are still suppressed in the Soviet Union.

Lenin and his collaborators expected and encouraged revolutionary victories in other countries, especially Germany. For various reasons, no other revolutions succeeded at that time. This left the Soviet Union isolated, trying to recover from centuries of backwardness and famine and the devastation of World War I and the civil war.

Under these conditions a corrupt bureaucracy developed. It began to organize around a program that abandoned the potential for revolution in other countries. Joseph Stalin emerged as the leader of this conservative group. It steadily pushed the working class—decimated, weakened, and exhausted by poverty and war—from political power.

In the two years before his death in 1924, Lenin began a fight against this current. Trotsky and other revolutionaries supported Lenin. After Lenin's death, Trotsky became the leader of those fighting to maintain socialist democracy and the program of

proletarian internationalism.

Stalin and the bureaucracy defeated the Leninists and announced the policy of "building socialism in one country." They established a bureaucratic dictatorship in the Soviet Union and eliminated workers democracy in order to protect their special material privileges.

Stalin's successors have been no better. Mao in China and Brezhnev in the Soviet Union each welcomed and hailed Richard Nixon in 1972 while U.S. bombs rained on Vietnam.

Instead of encouraging workers in other countries to make their own socialist revolutions, the Stalinist bureaucracy seeks to contain them within capitalist bounds in exchange for a live-and-let-live agreement with imperialism.

They justify their actions by pointing to the strength of imperialism and claim they are safeguarding the gains already won.

Should not such fears apply even more to the Cubans, an underdeveloped nation of ten million on an island less than a hundred miles from the imperialist colossus? Yet they devote enormous resources—troops in Africa, technicians throughout the semicolonial world—to supporting revolutions in other countries, in addition to their political solidarity with such struggles.

This has inspired threats from Washington. Fidel Castro responded December 20:

"Our Revolution's prestige derives from our loyalty to principles. And more important than the prestige is the confidence that all the world's revolutionaries must have that Cuba can always be counted on. . . .

"Principles are not negotiable. There are people in the world who negotiate with principles, but Cuba will never negotiate with principles!" (The full text of this speech was printed in the *Militant* January 30.)

When is the last time you heard Brezhnev speak like that—or act like the Cuban leaders?

Castro and the Cuban people realize that the future of their revolution depends ultimately on the spread of the socialist revolution to other countries. That was the essence of the idea that Trotsky defended against Stalin's so-called theory of "socialism in one country."

Neither Stalin nor his successors were able to reverse all the gains of the great Soviet revolution of 1917 which resulted in the overthrow of capitalism. The workers and farmers succeeded in maintaining a workers state and industrializing the Soviet Union despite bureaucratic misrule, Stalinist purges, Hitler's murderous invasion, and the U.S. imperialists' "cold war."

The fact that the USSR is a workers state explains why it has aided Cuba despite the bureaucracy's desire for a deal with the imperialists on the basis of preserving the status quo.

Incidentally, next time you write to Radio Moscow, ask how come almost sixty-four years after the Bolshevik revolution, all the writings of Trotsky, from before, during and after the revolution, are banned in the Soviet Union? If Trotsky's ideas are so unpopular, as the commentator claims, why are the Soviet people prohibited from reading them?

Union Talk

Hard times ahead with 'ray gun' at the helm

This week's column is by Halket Allen, an electrical assembler and a member of Machinists Lodge 66.

Workers at Johnson Controls get to listen to the radio on the job. We have our own radios to follow the news and to drown out the Muzak piped into the plant. This is an important part of second shift life and many conversations revolve around one or another development mentioned in the news.

The day that the Reagan inauguration took place and the American hostages were released there was a lot of comment.

Almost all the workers were glad that the fifty-two prisoners had been released, though several people resented the elaborate reception that they were getting.

One worker said, "Those people are set for life. They will never have to work again. I think I'll go

hang around the embassy in Mexico or El Salvador and hope that I get captured."

The radio news program went on for hours reporting the inauguration and the inaugural balls. Most of us were not interested enough to follow these events from start to finish, but during rest breaks some workers would gather around a radio to listen and talk.

Black workers were the most concerned about Reagan. Ralph Lewis calls the president "ray gun," a pronunciation that will stick at Johnson Controls.

Ralph predicted that the Reagan government would try to get us into a war. Most people gathered around agreed that the government would try to solve the economic problems with a war. One of the workers favored a small war if he did not have to go.

As we were listening to some senator spell out the program of the new administration and the budget

cuts that will come, Ralph said, "I feel rebellious already and 'ray gun' has only been in office two hours. There won't be any honeymoon if this keeps up."

"How are a cabinet full of millionaires and a millionaire president going to relate to poor people? They will try to cut off every privilege I ever had without knowing what life is like at my end."

"Most of them were born into money. The celebrating in Washington is for rich people; poor people are going to catch hell. The inauguration is a nine million dollar party at our expense. That money should have gone for something else."

"I think 'ray gun' is going to cut, cut, cut—cut out welfare, cut unemployment money, cut food stamps. Well, there are a lot of people who would rather die than go hungry."

Several assemblers agreed with Ralph. "The Republicans can celebrate in Washington, but we are going to have some hard times here soon."

Letters

On overproduction

I was very impressed with William Gottlieb's reply to Brian Jenkins in the December 26 *Militant*. It was very informative and cleared up some questions I had about Marx's ideas.

I have been studying Marxism for about two years. And this has up to now been his theories on human nature and philosophy.

Just recently I began entering the study of Marx's ideas and definitions of capitalism and overproduction. Since I know no person as knowledgeable as Gottlieb on the subject, I will ask if he can recommend some reading material on overproduction.

The local library has no books on Marx save one or two by possible anticommunist sources. If you could do me the favor of sending me a letter with the address and name of where I might obtain such a book, it would be greatly appreciated.

R.U.
McAllen, Texas

[William Gottlieb replies—The hardest thing in the study of any subject is to know where to begin. Fortunately, Marx and Engels left us remarkably clear

explanations of that most contradictory of all economic phenomena, the capitalist crisis of overproduction.

[These are to be found in *Wage-Labor and Capital* by Karl Marx, the *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Frederick Engels.

[The above titles are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

[*Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and *Wage-Labor and Capital* (including *Value, Price, and Profit*) are each \$1.25. The *Communist Manifesto* is \$.95. With orders, you should include \$.75 for postage and handling.]

No more hostage stories

Recently we've been inundated by TV coverage of the released hostages. I was getting pretty sick of it, and now I realize that I'm not alone.

Below is an excerpt from an article in the January 22 *Arizona Republic* titled "Angry Valley callers protest 'too many' hostage stories":

"Not everyone in the Valley

rejoiced at the chance to see the drama unfold as 52 American hostages were released from 444 days of captivity in Iran.

"Phoenix-area television stations reported hundreds of calls from viewers angered that their soap operas and game shows were interrupted by updates on the hostages.

"Who cares about the stupid hostages, anyway?" one woman asked KTVK-TV, an ABC affiliate.

"And a male viewer told KOOL-TV, a CBS affiliate, to stop interrupting the soap opera he was watching with 'that junk.'

"KPNX-TV, an NBC affiliate, got its first angry calls Saturday afternoon, when a hostage update broke into *SportsWorld*, which was featuring ice-skating competition.

"The people said they were seeing too much of the hostages, and it wasn't that big a thing," a spokeswoman said."

Rob Roper
Phoenix, Arizona

Lamb and rice

The disbelief of American workers concerning the



media's fabricated "hostage torture" stories was mirrored in a conversation overheard on a New York City rush hour subway.

One young worker said to another, "I'm sick of this 'torture' stuff. Have you heard the one about how all they had to eat was lamb and rice?"

"Yeah," his friend said, "I'd be happy if I could eat lamb and rice every day."

Mary Martin

Brooklyn, N.Y.

SWP vote totals

Unless I missed an issue, I have yet to see an article about the nationwide results of the election, as far as how SWP candidates did.

What's the scoop? I anticipated finding another well written and inspiring piece. How'd us good guys do? B.P.

East Lansing, Michigan

[Our apologies for the long delay in reporting the SWP votes. They will be included in next week's issue.]

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Reagan in any other language . . .

"Thank you. Thank you again," he said as if he were praying to a religious object. "... thank you, I think, for delivering this weather. We had been promised showers; we're most grateful."

When I read this I couldn't help but think of a primitive barbarian from ancient ages in the prehistory of society, thanking extraterrestrial forces for the good weather.

But he who said that was not, in fact, one of those ancestors of the modern homo sapiens. He just happened to be the brand new president of the United States of America, Mr. Ronald Reagan.

He said this in a public ceremony at the White House to welcome the release of fifty-two Americans by the Iranian authorities.

In referring to one of

them, a Chicano, Mr. Reagan said: "I'm told that Sergeant Lopez here put up a sign in his cell, a sign that normally would have been torn down by those guards. But this one was written in Spanish, and his guards didn't know that 'Viva la roja, blanca y azul' means 'Long live the red, white and blue.'"

Then he cynically added, "They may not understand what that means in Iran, but we do, Sergeant Lopez. And you've filled our hearts with pride. *Muchas gracias.*"

Besides his barbarianism, Mr. Reagan is the utmost hypocrite, liar, and paternalistic racist.

He doesn't give a damn for the Chicanos and the

Mexican workers whom he refers to as "illegal aliens," just as others like him refer to Black people fighting for their rights as "hoodlums" and to the Iranian people as "animals."

He not only doesn't care for Spanish-speaking people, he is their enemy, who will be in charge of continuing attacks on bilingual education and the right to speak the language in the workplace, as has already been happening.

In the case of Lopez, Reagan, like Carter and his administration, never cared for his life and made nearly impossible the release of the hostages.

Mr. Reagan shouldn't ridiculously pretend he speaks Spanish when he hardly speaks English, his own lan-

guage, because it makes us, Latinos and Spanish-speaking people, simply ashamed.

"Viva la roja, blanca y azul," so what?

I could also say that, and I bet he wouldn't know what I mean. Because those are the colors of the Cuban flag too, in case Mr. Reagan doesn't know.

Those are the colors of an internationalist flag, a flag of the oppressed.

When I was in one of Reagan's prisons at the border, I wrote on a wall: "Por un mundo sin fronteras. Vivan los trabajadores y campesinos de todos los países." Would this fill Reagan's heart?

I guess not. It's too civilized. An undocumented worker
Jersey City, New Jersey

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Zip: 35233.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Tel: (413) 256-0640. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA. Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP,

YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369.

Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Bill Donovan, 1240 E. Branch Rd. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 1322, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Steelworkers' election raises sharp differences

Balanoff faces conservative challenge

By Jon Hillson

GARY, Indiana—Battle lines are being drawn in the race for director of United Steelworkers of America District 31, whose 110,000 members make it the biggest district in the union.

Incumbent District Director James Balanoff is being challenged by Jack Parton, president of Local 1014 at U.S. Steel's Gary Works. Parton is actively backed by International Union President Lloyd McBride.

The May 28 election is a "confrontation that dramatizes a clear split in trade union ideology," James Warren wrote in the *Chicago Sun-Times*. "The union hierarchy wants Balanoff out. He's not a team player and the rhetoric of class struggle weaves through his speech."

"The Balanoff-Parton square-off is expected to air a confrontation within the district between the radical and conservative elements of the union's largest district," John Wasik wrote in the *Daily Calumet*.

'Hard-line 1930s unionism'

The campaign, according to *Hammond Times* Business-Labor editor Daniel Rosenheim, poses "a choice between hard-line 1930s-style trade unionism and a joint labor-management approach to problem solving."

The union militants' strength in District 31 is a product of the fight for union democracy waged around the campaign of Ed Sadlowski for district director and later international president of the USWA. Sadlowski is the former president of Local 65 at U.S. Steel South Works in Chicago.

The Sadlowski forces broke the twenty-five year bureaucratic reign of District Director Joseph Germano in 1973 when they beat Sam Evett, Germano's hand-picked heir, in the district director race.

When Sadlowski campaigned at the head of the Steelworkers Fight Back slate for international president in 1977, Balanoff, president of the 18,000-member Local 1010 at Inland Steel, ran for district director.

Sادلowski lost by a three to two margin, but Balanoff won the district election.

What do the Balanoff-Sادلowski forces represent?

"Balanoff strove to open up a union that prides itself on being democratic but, he and Sadlowski believed, wasn't democratic enough," the *Sun-Times* stated. "Restrictions on attending, and speaking at, district meetings were loosened, while an array of civil rights, safety and women's conferences were organized."

Responds to members

District 31 is on record against the Experimental Negotiating Agreement no-strike pledge in the basic steel industry. The district officially supports the right of all steelworkers to vote on their contracts.

Responding more to the membership than to management, District 31 has increasingly addressed broader social issues.

Balanoff recently endorsed a Chi-



Jim Balanoff, director of Chicago-Gary area district of USWA. International union tops want him replaced in order to put lid on discussion and involvement by union ranks.

cago rally organized in opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Although Balanoff is a supporter of the Democratic Party, he defends the right of opponents of the two-party system to express their views in the union. He has gavelled down red-baiting hecklers at union gatherings.

Last year's District 31 conference overwhelmingly voted against the USWA's anti-communist clause, a hangover from the McCarthy era.

Balanoff actively supported the bitter strike by Chicago firefighters against the union-busting city administration. Backing from the powerful Steelworkers was vital to that union victory last year.

Balanoff told 700 workers at a district-sponsored solidarity rally last fall for the NIPSCO strikers, "the corporations have never changed. They're out to break the unions like they always have been. They've just got one idea in mind. How to get by as cheap as possible and make as much money as possible."

Jack Parton told the *Sun-Times*, "I

believe in free enterprise. I don't know if Balanoff is a communist, but he seems oriented that way. He's probably more of a socialist."

Parton strongly backs the ENA-no-strike pledge, and he is not enthusiastic about strikes waged by other workers.

He demonstratively dropped a dime in a collection bucket at the 1977 District 31 conference as money was solicited for striking USWA iron ore miners.

During the bitter coal strike three years ago, Parton quashed attempts to organize fundraising at Local 1014.

During all these strikes, Balanoff supported and helped organize the solidarity efforts.

Parton to right of members

Parton claims Balanoff is "to the left of the membership." This is not true.

But Parton is much more conservative than the union ranks.

For example, he supports construction of the Baily nuclear reactor. Opposition to that nuke, to be built a few miles from the Local 1014 hall, includes Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher,

the Steelworker-organized unionists at NIPSCO who would operate it, and the 6,000-member USWA Local 6787 at Bethlehem Steel which borders it.

In an effort to win votes, Parton charges Balanoff has not appointed enough Black and Chicano staff people.

But Balanoff, and Sadlowski before him, were hamstrung in appointing staffworkers by the Pittsburgh brass. The *Sun-Times* reported that "key union bureaucrats who were holdovers from past Pittsburgh regimes" could be changed only with "Pittsburgh's consent. . . . When Balanoff would propose people for coveted staff positions in Pittsburgh, he also would be spurned."

Early in Balanoff's tenure, he appointed several Blacks and Latinos who were vetoed by McBride.

Enlightenment in Pittsburgh

Parton officially launched his campaign with news conferences January 28. If his tone there is an indication, Parton will identify his campaign with some progressive social concerns, as the McBride administration in Pittsburgh has done.

As a result of the big influx of young workers into the union in recent years—a large percentage of whom are Blacks, Latinos, and women—the international union has changed. It is more involved in backing civil rights and the ERA than before.

While tightening its collaboration with the steel corporations in their pursuit of higher profits, the international leadership has also tried to identify itself with the militancy of the union organizing victory at the Newport News shipyard.

The shift in the international partly represents McBride looking over his shoulder at Sadlowski and Balanoff. Sadlowski's advocacy of a more militant and democratic union in 1977 won very strong backing wherever he got his views out.

Parton's backing of at least some of the more enlightened positions of the international is a big change from his role as president of Local 1014.

How to fight?

But Parton's challenge to Balanoff is an attempt to put a lid on the discussions in the union and to restrict the activities of the ranks.

Steelworkers and other workers are trying to figure out how to fight the plant closings and layoffs that are decimating the union.

How can affirmative action gains be preserved?

What can be done to fight for safe working conditions and enforce them?

What kind of political action can the unions take with the shift to the right of capitalist politics?

The debate over these questions is part of the Balanoff-Parton showdown. A victory for Balanoff will encourage these discussions to go further and open more opportunities for the ranks to affect union policy. The outcome of this union election will be felt far beyond the borders of District 31 and the USWA itself.